BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA;

OR

Biography of Literary Characters

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

ARRANGED

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

BY

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LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

1842.

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GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE COUNCIL

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

LONDON: J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, PRINTERS, 25, PARLIAMENT-STREET.

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The distinguishing characteristic of this volume, which has been composed by Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A. under the superintendence of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature, is that it contains, in a chronological series, a biography of all those natives of the British Islands who are known to have enjoyed any literary reputation during the period of the Anglo-Saxon rule. And it is proposed by the Society, in continuing the work, to trace down the stream of British literature, in successive periods of time, to the close of the seventeenth century. Several reasons may be alleged for giving to this arrangement the preference over that which is in the order of the alphabet; and the reader will, perhaps, find it convenient to be able to have recourse to biographical collections founded on both plans.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

ON THE

STATE OF LITERATURE AND LEARNING

UNDER THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

It may truly be asserted that the literature of no other country can boast of the preservation of such a long and uninterrupted series of memorials as that of England. Even through the early ages of Saxon rule, though at times the chain is slender, yet it is not broken. We want neither the heroic song in which the *scóp* or poet told the venerable traditions of the fore-world to the chieftains assembled on the "mead-bench," nor the equally noble poems in which his successor sang the truths as well as the legends of Christianity. We have history and biography as they came from the pen of the Saxon writers, science, such as was then known, set down by those who professed it, and these written sometimes in the language of their fathers; whilst at other times they are clothed in that tongue which the missionaries had introduced, and in which the learning of Bede and Alcuin was revered, when the Saxon language was no longer understood. We have the doctrine of the church, both as it was discussed among its profoundest teachers, and as it was presented in simpler form to the ears of the multitude. Lastly, amongst the

numerous manuscripts which the hand of time has spared to us, the lighter literature of our Saxon forefathers presents itself continually under many varying forms.

§ I. *Anglo-Saxon Poetry and Romance.*

1. The first records of the Anglo-Saxons carry us back to that state of society in which all literature is comprised under the one characteristic head of poetry; and all literary genius centres in one person, the minstrel, who equally composed and sang. This was the literature which, in the year 449, the Saxons brought with them into our island; and during the first period of their establishment poetry held a high rank both by its comparative importance and by its own intrinsic beauties. Life itself, and the language of life, were in those early ages essentially poetic; man lived and acted according to his impulses and passions; he was unacquainted with the business-like movements and feelings of more civilized existence; when he was not occupied in imitating the famous deeds of his forefathers, he listened to the words of the minstrel who celebrated them. The song in which were told the gigantic movements of an earlier period, already clothed in a traditionary garb of the supernatural, was the instrument to which his mind owed its culture; his very conversation was moulded upon it, and even in the transactions of the council he spake in poetry. Among the many examples of the poetic feeling of the Saxons, furnished by old historians, Bede gives us one which is peculiarly beautiful. When Paulinus preached the doctrines of Christ before the court of King Edwin, one of his nobles arose and said, "Thou hast seen, O King, when the fire blazed, and the hall was warm, and thou wast seated at the feast amid thy nobles, whilst the winter storm raged

without, and the snow fell, how some solitary sparrow has flown through, scarcely entered at one door before it disappeared by the other. Whilst it is in the hall it feels not the storm, but, after the space of a moment, it returns to whence it came, and thou beholdest it no longer, nor knowest where or to what it may be exposed. Such, as it appears to me, is the life of man, a short moment of enjoyment, and we know not whence we came, nor whither we are going. If this new doctrine brings us any greater certitude of the future, I for one vote for its adoption."*

2. The Poet, or Minstrel, was held in high esteem among the Saxons. His genius was looked upon as a birth-right, not an acquired art, and it obtained for him everywhere the respect and protection of the great and the powerful. His place was in the hall of princes, where he never failed to earn admiration and applause, attended generally with advantages of a more substantial nature. The early poem of Beowulf affords us many evidences of the high place which poetry held amongst the enjoyments of life. If the poet would paint to us the joy which reigned in the royal hall of Heorot, he tells us of the song that resounded there—

scóp hwílum sang	meanwhile the poet sang
hádor on Heorote.	serene in Heorot.
(*Beowulf*, *v.* 987.)	

As, on the contrary, the absence of the wonted minstrelsy is a sure sign of sorrow and distress—

næs hearpan wyn,	there is no joy of the harp,
gomen gleó-beámes.	no pleasure of the musical-wood.†
(*v.* 4519.)	

The poetry of the Anglo-Saxons has preserved to us many traits of the character and office of the ancient

* Bede, Hist. Eccles. Angl. Lib. II. cap. 13.

† *i. e.* the harp.

minstrel. He was sometimes a household retainer of the chief whom he served, as we see in the poem of Beowulf; sometimes he wandered through different countries, visiting the courts of various princes. Thus in a fragment of some old romance, which is preserved in the Exeter manuscript, and which has been frequently printed under the title of the Traveller's Song,* a minstrel is introduced enumerating the various lands which he had seen in his wanderings, and he concludes with the following reflection—

swá scríþende	Thus wandering
ge-sceapum hweorfað	in the world
gleó-men gumena	the glee-men go about
geond grunda fela,	through many nations,
þearfe secgað,	they say their wants,
þonc-word sprecaþ,	speak words of thankfulness,
simle súð oþþe norð	ever south or north
sumne ge-métað	they meet some one
gydda gleáwne,	skilful in songs,
geofum un-hneáwne,	un-sparing of gifts,
se þe fore dúguþe wile	who before his nobility will
dóm á-ræ'ran,	raise his sway,
eorl-scipe æfnan,	will perform earlship,
oþþæt eal scaceð	until all flitteth
leóht and líf somod.	light and life together.
Lóf se ge-wyrceð	He who worketh praise
hafað under heofonum	hath under the heavens
heáh-fæstne dóm.	high-established sway.

It was the minstrel's duty, not only to tell the mythic history of the earlier ages, but to relate contemporary events, and to clothe in poetry the deeds which fell under his eye, to turn into derision the coward or the vanquished enemy, and to laud and exalt the conduct of his patrons. No sooner has Beowulf accomplished the defeat of the terrible Grendel, than the household bard of Hrothgar,

* First by Conybeare, in his Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, and afterwards by Kemble in his Edition of Beowulf, by Leo in his Altsächsische und Angelsächsische Sprachproben, and by Guest in the History of English Rythms.

whose memory was filled with old traditions, commences a new song on the hero's success.

hwílum cyninges þegn,	sometimes the king's thane,
guma gilp-hlæden,	a man laden with lofty themes,
gidda ge-myndig,	mindful of songs,
(se þe eal-fela	(he who a great multitude
eald-ge-segena	of old traditions
worn ge-munde,	remembered,
word óþer fand	who invented other words,
sóðe ge-bunden,)	truly joined together),
secg eft on-gan	this man now began
síð Beó-wulfes	Beowulf's expedition
snyttrum styrian.	skilfully to put in order.
(*Beowulf*, *v.* 1728.)	

Thus the minstrel became endowed with another function; it was by means of his songs that the intelligence of contemporary events was, in the earlier ages, carried from one court to another. In this way Beowulf became acquainted with the sufferings of the Danes, under the visitation of the Grendel:—

for ðam [syððan] wearð	therefore it afterwards became
ylda-bearnum	to the sons of men
un-dyrne cúð,	openly known,
gyddum geomore.	mournfully *in songs*.
(*v.* 297.)	

At times the Bard raised his song to higher themes, and laid open the sacred story of the cosmogony, and the beginning of all things. Thus, when the warriors were joyful in Heorot—

þær wæs hearpan swég,	there was noise of the harp,
swútol sang scópes:	the clear song of the poet.
sægde se þe cúþe	one said that knew
frum-sceaft fira	the origin of men
feorran reccan;	from a remote period to relate;
cwæð þæt se æl-mihtiga	he said that the Almighty
eorðan w[orhte],	wrought the earth,
wlite-beorhtne wang	the bright-faced plain
swá wæter be-búgeð;	which water encompasseth;
ge-sette sige-hreþig	exulting in victory he set up
sunn[an] and monan,	the sun and the moon.

leóman to leóhte	luminaries to light
land bú[en]dum ;	the inhabitants of the land ;
and ge-frætwade	and adorned
foldan sceátas	the districts of the earth
leomum and leáfum :	with boughs and leaves :
líf eác ge-sceóp	life also he created
cy[n]na ge-hwylcum	for all kinds
þára ðe cwice hwyrfaþ.	that go about alive.
(*Beowulf*, *v.* 178.)	

3. These minstrel-poets had, by degrees, composed a large mass of national poetry, which formed collectively one grand mythic cycle. Their education consisted chiefly in committing this poetry to memory, and it was thus preserved from age to age. They rehearsed such portions of it as might be asked for by the hearers, or as the circumstances of the moment might require, for it seems certain that they were in the habit of singing detached scenes even of particular poems, just as we are told was done with the works of Homer in the earlier times of Greece. Thus in Beowulf, on one occasion, the subject selected by the Bard as most appropriate, is Offa's expedition against Finn, a romance of which, singularly enough, we have still a fragment left,*—

ðær wæs sang and swég	There was song and sound
samod æt-gædere,	all together,
fore Healf-denes	before Healfdene's
hilde-wísan,	chieftains ;
gomen-wudu gréted,	the wood of joy was touched,
gid oft wrecen :	the song often sung :
ðonne heal-gamen	then joy in the hall
Hróþ-gáres scóp	Hrothgar's poet
æfter medo-bence	along the mead-bench
mæ'nan scolde,	must excite,
Finnes eaferum	concerning Finn's descendants,
ðá híe se fæ'r be-geat.	when the expedition came upon them.
(*v.* 2119.)	

* The circumstance of our having a part of the very romance which the bard is introduced singing, gives a singular air of verity to the pictures of early manners in this interesting poem. The fragment first printed by Hickes, and reprinted in Kemble's Beowulf under the title of "The Battle

In their passage from one minstrel to another, these poems underwent successive changes; and, since, like the religion taught by the priests, the poetry belonged to the whole class, without being known severally as the work of this or that individual, it happens that all the Anglo-Saxon national poetry is anonymous. In like manner, the question as to the authors of most of the poetry of the early Grecian cycles was among the Greeks themselves a matter of great uncertainty. The practice of singing detached pieces also accounts for the fragments of larger poems which are still found in manuscripts; the famous Exeter manuscript is chiefly made up of such pieces. Beowulf bears internal evidence of having passed through many hands in its way from the age of paganism in which it was certainly moulded, up to that when among minstrels who held a better religion, it received the various adventitious traits of Christianity which we now find in it. The "Traveller's Song" seems to have been preserved as a kind of nomenclature of geography; and, as might be expected, it is full of interpolations, by the addition of the names of countries, of which the knowledge was brought in by the Christian writers.

1. The poetry of the Anglo-Saxons was neither modulated according to foot-measure, like that of the Greeks and Romans, nor written with rhymes, like that of many modern languages. Its chief and universal characteristic was a very regular *alliteration*, so arranged that, in every couplet, there should be two principal words in the first

of Finnesburh," was found by the former, as he says, in a MS. of semi-Saxon Homilies in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. It has since been sought there more than once, but without success. Perhaps it was the leaf pasted down in the binding of some MS. which belonged to a very different subject; and, if this be the case, it is certainly very desirable that it should be found, as, by separating it from the cover, more might possibly be discovered than Hickes was aware of.

line beginning with the same letter, which letter must also be the initial of the first word on which the stress of the voice falls in the second line. The only approach to a metrical system yet discovered is that two risings and two fallings of the voice seem necessary to each perfect line. Two distinct measures are met with, a shorter and a longer, both commonly mixed together in the same poem, the former being used for the ordinary narrative, and the latter adopted when the poet sought after greater dignity. In the manuscripts, the Saxon poetry is always written continuously like prose, perhaps for the sake of convenience, but the division of the lines is generally marked by a point. Some Anglo-Saxon scholars, and the Germans more particularly, have advocated the printing of the alliterative couplet in one line, while others are equally zealous for its separation into two. This is, perhaps, more a matter of taste than of great importance, though the mode, now generally adopted, of dividing the alliterations into couplets, seems to be countenanced both by the pointing of the manuscripts, and by the circumstance that, if the longer metres be arranged according to the other method, the length of the lines becomes rather inconvenient and unseemly. The harmony and alliteration of the lines, as well as the dividing points, are often lost in the manuscripts by the inaccuracy of the scribes.

5. The Anglo-Saxon poetry has come down to us in its own native dress. In unskilful hands it sometimes became little more than alliterative prose; but, as far as it is yet known to us, it never admitted any adventitious ornaments. Having been formed in a simple state of society, it admits, by its character, no great variety of style, but generally marches on in one continued strain of pomp and grandeur, to which the Anglo-Saxon language itself was in its perfect state peculiarly suited. The principal charac-

teristic of this poetry is an endless variety of epithet and metaphor, which are in general very expressive, although their beauty sometimes depends so much on the feelings and manners of the people for whom they were made, that they appear to us rather fanciful. As, however, these poets drew their pictures from nature, the manner in which they apply their epithets, like the rich colouring of the painter, produces a brilliant and powerful impression on the mind. They are, moreover, exceedingly valuable to the modern reader, for they make him acquainted with the form, colour, material, and every other attribute of the things which are mentioned. Thus, when the hero shows himself, a long description could not give a more exact idea of his apparel than is here conveyed in a few words—

Beówulf maðelode ;	Beowulf spake ;
on him byrne scán,	on him the coat of mail shone,
sea[ro]-net seówed	the war-net sowed
smiþes or-þancum.	by the skill of the armourer.
(*Beowulf*, *v.* 804.)	

When the poet describes Beowulf's approach, with his attendants, to the Danish capital, we see even the path they are treading, and the clank of their armour seems to ring in our ears—

Stræ't wæs stán-fáh,	The street was variegated with stones,
stíg wísode	the path directed
gumum æt-gædere.	the men together.
gúð-byrne scán,	The war-mail shone,
heard hond-locen ;	hard hand-locked ;
hring-iren scír	the bright ring-iron
song in searwum,	sang in their trappings,
þá hie tó sele furðum	when they forward to the hall
in hyra gry're-geatwum	in their terrible armour
gangan cwomon.	proceeded on their way.
(*v.* 637.)	

So, likewise, in Beowulf's desperate encounter with the unearthly Grendel, whom no weapons could injure, when

he tears the monster's arm from the shoulder, the poet dwells on the momentary act of separation till we seem to feel the crash:—

hím on eaxle wearð	On his shoulder became
syn-dolh sweótol;	a mighty gash evident,
seonowe on-sprungon,	the sinews sprang asunder,
burston bán-locan.	the juncture of the bones burst.
(*Beowulf*, *v.* 1626.)	

The metaphors also often possess much original beauty. Thus, an enemy is not slain—he is *put to sleep with the sword.* So it was with the nicors whom Beowulf had destroyed in the sea; and they were found not on the shore—but near the *leavings of the waves*:—

ac on mergenne	But in the morning
mecum wunde	wounded with blades
be y′ð-láfe	beside the leavings of the waves
uppe læ′gon,	they lay aloft,
swe[ordum] á-swefede.	put to sleep with swords.
(*v.* 1124.)	

When a hero died in peace, he *went on his way.* So Beowulf's father—

ge-bád wintra worn,	he abode for many a year,
æ′r he on weg hwurfe	ere he went on his way,
gamol of geardum.	old, from his dwellings.
(*v.* 525.)	

Men's passions and feelings are sometimes depicted with great beauty. What can be more simple and elegant, and at the same time more natural and pathetic, than Hrothgar's lamentation over his old and faithful counseller, whom unexpectedly the Grendel's mother had slain?—

Hróð-gár maþelode,	Hrothgar spake,
helm Scyldinga:	the protector of the Scyldings:
ne frin þú æfter sæ′lum,—	"Ask not thou after happiness,—
sorh is ge-niwod	sorrow is renewed
Denigea leódum;	to the Danish people;
deád is Æsc-here	dead is Æschere

Yrmen-láfes	Yrmenlaf's
yldra bróþor,	elder brother,
mín rún-wita,	the partaker of my secrets,
and mín ræ'd-bora,	and my counsellor,
eaxl-ge-stealla	who stood at my elbow*
ðonne we on or-lege	when we in battle
hafelan wéredon,	guarded our hoods of mail,
þonne hniton feþan	when troops rushed together,
eoferas cnysedan;	and helmets clashed;
[á] scolde eorl wesan	ever should an earl be
æ'r-gód swylc Æsc-here.	valiant as Æschere.
Wearð him on Herote	Of him in Heorot
tó hand-banan	a cunning fatal-guest
wæl-gæst wæfre.	has become the slaughterer.
* * *	* * *
nú seó hand lig[eð],	Now the hand lieth low,
se þe eów wel hwylcra	which was good to you all
wilna dóhte.	for all your desires."
(*Beowulf*, v. 2642.)	

The anxiety of Beowulf and his people, after the aged warrior had fought his last battle, and destroyed his last enemy, that his barrow should be raised on an eminence overlooking the sea, that it might be a mark to sailors—

ge-worhton ða	wrought then
Wedra leóde	the people of the Westerns
hlæ'w on líde,	a mound over the sea,
se wæs heáh and brád,	it was high and broad
eð-líðendum	to the seafaring men
wíde tó-syne.	to be seen afar—
(v. 6306.)	

reminds us of a similar sentiment, in an early Greek poet, when speaking of the tomb of Themistocles, which he represents as overlooking the Piræus, and

* It is curious to observe the similarity of sentiment and expression which is often found recurring under similar circumstances. In the metrical life of Merlin, attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth, the hero laments his friend and companion in arms in almost the same words as are here put into the mouth of Hrothgar (*Vit. Merl.* v. 16)—

"O juvenile decus! quis nunc astabit in armis
Nunc mihi pone latus, mecumque repellet euntes
In mea dampna duces, incumbentesque catervas."

which would seem, like Beowulf's, to have been a large tumulus*:—

> Ὁ σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
> Τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
> Τούς τ' ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὄψεται,
> Χὠπόταν ἅμιλλα τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.
>
> There shall thy mound, conspicuous on the shore,
> Salute the mariners who pass the sea,
> Keep watch on all who enter or depart,
> And be the umpire in the naval strife.

Similes are very rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The whole romance of Beowulf contains only five, and those are of the simplest kind; the vessel gliding swiftly over the waves is compared to a bird; the Grendel's eyes to fire; his nails to steel; the light which Beowulf finds in the Grendel's dwelling, under the waters, resembles the serene light of the sun; and the sword which has been bathed in the monster's blood melts immediately "like ice." In the religious poetry such comparisons are not more common.

6. The Romances of the Anglo-Saxons hold historically the same place in literature which belongs to the Iliad or the Odyssey.† Their subjects were either exclusively mythological, or historical facts, which, in their passage by tradition from age to age, had taken a mythic form. Beowulf himself is, probably, little more than a fabulous personage—another Hercules destroying monsters of

* Plato Comicus, ap. Plutarch. in vita Themist.

† To the comparison already made between the earliest poetry of Greece and that of England, it may be added that the names given to a minstrel, *scóp* on the one hand, from *scapan*, to make, and, on the other, *ποιητὴς*, from *ποιεῖν*, are identically the same, and, indicating a consciousness of the creative faculty of the poet, differ entirely from the *trobador*, and *trouvère*, of a later period of mediæval poetry. The Anglo-Scottish poetry of the fifteenth century was merely an imitation of the English of the thirteenth and fourteenth, and their *makkar*, or *maker*, can only be conceived to have merited his name by the old rule of *lucus a non lucendo*, because he borrowed his materials ready-made.

every description, natural or supernatural, nicors, ogres, grendels, dragons. No weak or selfish feelings ever interfere with his straight course of heroic probity. Courage, generosity, and fidelity are his virtues. The coward, the niggard, and the traitor, whenever they are mentioned, are spoken of with strong marks of abhorrence. The weaker sex, though it has scarcely any share in the action, is always treated with extreme delicacy and respect. The plot of the poem is at once simple and bold. Among the other romances, that of Finn had for its subject the mutual injury of two hostile tribes, and acts of vengeance repeated until the one was vanquished and became dependent on the other. Sometimes the ladies stand forth as more active and powerful agents. Thus the romance of Offa was founded on the marriage of a king with a wood-nymph, and the hatred with which she was regarded by his mother,—a story frequently reproduced in the romances of the thirteenth century. The old German romance of the Niebelungen has for its subject the disastrous consequences which arose out of the vanity and petulance of two royal dames. The subject of that of Waltharius, preserved to us only in a Latin dress, is the escape of a prince and his affianced bride from the court of the Huns, where they had been detained as hostages.*

7. The only perfect monument of Anglo-Saxon romance, which the hand of time has left us, is Beowulf. In it we discover, what was rendered more than probable by other considerations, that, after the Saxons had embraced Christianity, they carefully weeded out from their national poetry all mention of, or allusion to, those personages of the earlier mythology, whom their forefathers had

* The curious poem of Waltharius has been lately printed more accurately than in the older editions, by Grimm and Schmeller, in their *Lateinische Gedichte des X. and XI. Jh.*

worshipped as Gods. But they went no further than this; the subordinate beings of the ancient superstition, the elves, nicors, and all the fantastic creatures of the popular creed, still held their places; for the Christian missionaries themselves believed in the spiritual and unseen world as extensively as their converts. The only difference was, that, whilst elsewhere these beings retained very nearly their original form and character, in the minds of the monks they became so many black demons and mischievous hobgoblins.*

8. That the early romances continued to be popular throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, is proved by many circumstances. Indeed their heroes were in most instances the direct ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon princes, and they must therefore always have been listened to with attention. Many of the nobles appear to have had such romances attached to the early history of their own families, as was the case with Waltheof.† That they formed part of the poetry in which King Alfred, from his youth, took so much pleasure, is proved by the manner in which he introduces the name of Weland, one of the most renowned personages of the Teutonic mythology, into his translation of Boethius. The manuscript of Beowulf, and those which contain the fragments that remain of other romances, are all of the tenth century, the age in which chiefly the Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature was committed to writing, which shows that they were then popular. As late as the time of the Norman conquest, we are told of

* The history of the influence of Monkish Christianity on the popular Mythology of the Anglo Saxons is developed more at large (by the writer of the present essay) in an article on *Friar Rush and the Frolicsome Elves*, in the Foreign Quarterly Review for 1837, vol. xviii. p. 180.

† The life of Waltheof is printed in the second volume of the Chroniques Anglo-Normandes: Frere, Rouen, 1839.

one of the companions of the Saxon Hereward, who had been named Godwin, "because he was as valiant as Godwin the son of Guthlac, who was so highly extolled *in the fables of the Ancients*,"* a clear proof of their general popularity at that time. And at the same time, as we learn from Hereward's anonymous biographer, there was one Leofric, "his presbyter at Bourne," who seems to have still exercised in part the craft of the minstrel, or *scóp*; for "it was his occupation to collect the deeds of the giants and warriors out of the fables of the Ancients, or from the accurate relation of others, for the edification of his hearers, and to write them in English in order to preserve them."† Leofric appears to have acted, in some measure, as the bard of Hereward's family.

9. We not only trace the preservation of these romances down to a comparatively late period, but we can discover marks of their continued influence in various ways. From time to time we detect them interweaving themselves with the graver recitals of the historian. As the Saxons became in course of time more and more firmly settled in, and identified with, Britain, their recollections of their old country became continually less vivid, the traditions connected with it less definite, and they began to forget the meaning of many of the old legends, although they were still punctually handed down from father to son. In ages like those of which we are now speaking—indeed more or less in all ages—the popular mind ever connects its traditions with some object which is constantly before the

* Godwinus Gille, qui vocabatur Godwinus, quia non impar Godwino filio Guthlaci, qui in fabulis antiquorum valde prædicatur.—*De Gestis Herwardi Saxonis*, p. 50.

† .... editum a Lefrico diacono ejusdem ad Brun presbitero. Hujus enim memorati presbiteri erat studium, omnes actus gigantum et bellatorum ex fabulis antiquorum, aut ex fideli relatione, ad edificationem audientium congregare, et ob memoriam Angliæ literis commendare.—Ib. p. 2.

eye, and thus the old romances were associated with new places. A particular tribe, who had brought with them some ancient legend, the real scene of which lay upon the shores of the Baltic, after they had been settled for a time in England, began to look upon it as a story connected only with the spot where they now dwelt, and to perpetuate the error by giving the name of its hero to some object in their vicinity. Thus came such names as Grimesby in Lincolnshire, Wade's-Castle in the North, which took their names, one from Havelok's supposed foster-father, the other from a Saxon or northern hero, whose legend appears at present to be lost, although it was still preserved little more than two centuries ago. Thus, too, the legend of Weland was located in Berkshire. It was in this way that the Ongles, or Angles, settled at an earlier period near Sleswic, became by degrees confounded with the East-Angles in England; and thus the romance of Offa, one of the ancient Angle princes or "heroes," was under the hand of the historian Matthew Paris transformed into a life of Offa, King of the Angles in our island. Some such process seems to have produced the more modern romance of Havelok, that of King Atla still preserved in Anglo-Norman and Latin, though in either form inedited, and perhaps all the other Anglo-Norman romances which form the cycle commonly attributed to the period of the Danish invasions, such as Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, and King Horn. In more than one instance we find the events of some older family romance mixed up with the life of an historical personage. Such, no doubt, was the origin of the history of Hereward's younger days, which his biographer acknowledges to be taken from what appears to have been a poem, written by Leofric of Bourne; and there are several incidents in it which are most remarkably similar to some parts of the romance of

Horn, just mentioned. These were not the most humiliating transformations to which, in the course of ages, the Anglo-Saxon romances were condemned: as they had been originally formed in the childhood of nations, so at a later period they re-appeared in the form of chap-books and ballads for the amusement of *children;* and it is more than probable that the great god Thor, the never-ceasing enemy of the Giants of the old Teutonic mythology, has degenerated into that popular but no less remarkable hero of the nursery, the famous Jack-the-Giant-Killer, the all-powerful hammer and the girdle of strength of the god having been replaced by the equally efficient sword of sharpness and the cap of invisibility.

§ II. *The Anglo-Saxon Christian Poetry.*

1. The introduction of Christianity laid open to the Saxons a new field of literary labour, and its influence was exerted immediately on the national poetry. On their first arrival, at the end of the sixth century, the missionaries were treated with respect. They soon made converts rapidly, and the new religion was received even among the princes and nobles with a warmth of zeal which was imparted, more or less, through many generations to their descendants, in whose writings we meet with frequent expressions of reverence and gratitude towards those who had first reclaimed them from the errors of paganism.* The minstrels now found that a song of scripture lore was more attentively listened to than the

* The inedited Prose Menology says of St. Gregory,—He is ure *altor*, and we syndan his *alumni;* ðæt is ðæt he is ure fester-fæder on Criste, and we syndon his fester-bearn on full-wihte. (MS. Cotton. Julius, A. x. fol. 71.) *He is our* altor, *and we are his* alumni; *that is, that he is our foster-father in Christ, and we are his foster-children in baptism.* The Metrical Meno-

traditionary exploits of their own national heroes; and thus a new class of subjects became popular, though dressed in the same style of poetry to which their hearers had been so long accustomed. The zeal of many of the more influential converts led them, probably, to encourage these compositions by all the means in their power. The subjects thus chosen were generally detached stories from the Old Testament, such as the history of the Creation and the fall of the Angels, the story of Judith, or of Nebuchadonosor, or were founded on the doctrines and prophecies of the New Testament, as the Harrowing of Hell, and the Day of Judgment, with all its terrors for the wicked and its glories for the good; sometimes they were

logy, reprinted from Hickes by the Rev. S. Fox (8vo. Pickering, 1830), says of St. Augustine (l. 200)—

Ne hyrde ic guman awyrn	I have not heard anywhere
ænigne ær	that any man
æfre bringan	ever brought
ofer sealtne mere	over the briny sea
selran lare,—	better doctrine,—
bisceop bremran.	a more illustrious bishop.

In a MS. of the tenth century (MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. XIII. fol. 89, v°) is preserved the following short hymn on the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons:

Sanctus papa Gregorius,
Augustini didascalus,
Dum per eum multimoda
Nosset geri miracula,
Et Saxonum cor saxeum
Fateri Christum dominum,
Proventu euvangelicæ
Exhilaratus vineæ,
Psallebat hoc celeumate
Divino tactus pneumate.
Ecce lingua Britanniæ,
Frendens olim barbarie,
In Trinitate unica
Jam alleluia personat,
Proventu euvangelicæ
[Exhilarata vineæ!]

taken from later legends, like those of St. Andrew and of the finding of the Cross, or others still more remote from scriptural truth, as that of the Phœnix. These subjects were worked out and embellished by the imagination of the poet, and were not unfrequently tinged with native ideas, and even with native superstitions. Not only the metaphors and epithets of the romances, and much of the old manners and feelings, were reproduced (for Satan and Holofernes possess most of the attributes of Saxon chieftains), but expressions, and even whole lines, were continually transferred to them, so that we are enabled to correct lines in Beowulf by means of the parallel passages which are found in the poetry of the Vercelli and Exeter Manuscripts, or in that which has been twice published under the name of Cædmon.

2. The type of the Anglo-Saxon religious poetry was Cædmon, who, according to the legend, received miraculously in a dream the gift of song. We are far from believing, as some have wished to explain the matter, that this miracle really occurred, and that it may be accounted for naturally, on the presumption of the simple and easy construction of Anglo-Saxon verse. On the contrary, that Cædmon's poems were exceedingly beautiful we have Bede's own testimony, a man well skilled in and much attached to the poetry of his forefathers; and that they were by no means easy to compose, we may be convinced by a comparison of the older religious poetry with that which was certainly written at a later period, (when the minstrel, though he still existed, was no more the same personage he had been,) such as the metrical translations from Boethius attributed to King Alfred. The terms in which Bede speaks of the miracle, show how extraordinary it appeared to those who lived at

the time, that one who had not been taught the profession of poetry, should be able to compose like a regular bard. All, indeed, that we are justified in concluding from this story is, that Cædmon was considered to be so far superior to his contemporaries in the same art, that it required (as has often been the case under similar circumstances) the formation of a particular legend to account for it. It is highly probable that we still have some of his compositions among the mass of religious poetry which has been preserved; and we are fairly authorised in believing, from their style and particular subjects, that at least some parts of that published first by Junius, and more recently by Thorpe, under Cædmon's name, belonged, in their earlier form, to that poet. They possess all the characteristics above enumerated.

3. We find no manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon religious poetry, unless it be some very insignificant fragments, of an earlier date than the tenth century, nor does there occur any mention of such manuscripts before the time of King Alfred—the latter half of the ninth century. Yet, from what Bede says of Cædmon and his imitators,* and from some other circumstances, it seems probable that the vernacular religious poetry was composed chiefly during the years which intervened between the age of the poet (about A. D. 680) and that of the historian (A. D. 731). The circumstances which are most in favour of this supposition are, first, its great dissimilarity in style to anything that can be ascertained to have been written at a later period, and, secondly, the frequent allusion which is made to it at the earlier period. Aldhelm, who died in 709, is said to have been himself one of the best English poets

* Et quidem et alii post illum in gente Anglorum religiosa poemata facere tentabant; sed nullus eum æquiparare potuit. Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 24.

of his day.* Bede was also partial to the vernacular Anglo-Saxon poetry, and well acquainted with it (doctissimus in nostris carminibus); and, even on his death-bed, he not unfrequently uttered his thoughts in passages taken from the national poets. One of these passages is preserved by a writer who was with him in his last moments, and is thus printed in Asser's Annals:—†

for tham ned-fere	before the necessary journey
neni wirtheth	no one becomes
thances snotera	more prudent of thought
thonne him thearf sy,	than is needful to him,
to ge-hicgenne	to search out
er his heonon-gange	before his going hence
hwet his gaste	what to his spirit
godes othe yveles	of good or of evil
efter deathe heonon	after his death hence
demed weorthe.	will be judged.

Boniface, who died in 755, in one of his letters quotes likewise a moral sentiment from an Anglo-Saxon poet—

oft dædlata	oft doth the dilatory man
domæ for-eldit	justly lose by his delay
sigisitha gahwem ;	in every successful undertaking ;
swyltit þi ana.‡	therefore he dieth lonely.

4. During the long period which had thus elapsed before this poetry was committed to writing, as we now find it, it was preserved almost entirely by the memory. When this faculty is exercised and disciplined as it was by the minstrels, and also by the scholars of that day,

* See William of Malmsbury, in Vit. Aldhelm. He is said, among other things, to have translated the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon verse, which may possibly have been the same which Mr. Thorpe has so ably edited from the Paris MS. or the groundwork of it.

† Cuthberti Epistola de Morte Bedæ, ap. Asser. Annal. in Gale's Collection, p. 152. This letter is also found in Simeon of Durham, and elsewhere.

‡ Bonifac. Epist. ap. Pertz. Thes. vol. iii. quoted in Gent. Mag. June 1836, p. 611, where the language of this fragment (which like the one last quoted, has been much disfigured by inaccurate Latin scribes) is arranged more correctly and translated by Mr. Kemble.

its power of containing and preserving is perfectly wonderful. Among many other books which Wilfred had committed to memory in his youth, whilst resident in the monastery of Lindisfarne, was the whole book of Psalms; and afterwards, when he found that he had learnt them according to the Latin text of Jerome, which was then going out of use among the Catholics, he committed them to memory *a second time*, according to the newly authorised text (more Romanorum juxta quintam editionem).* This is mentioned by his biographer, without any expression of surprise at his powerful memory, but simply to show his respect for the Romish ordinances. There is no class of poetry sooner forgotten than that which is intended merely to celebrate events of temporary interest; and yet it is clear from William of Malmsbury, that, even in his time, (the twelfth century) when the literature of the Anglo-Saxons was rapidly falling into neglect, many political songs and poems of all ages, and even some songs composed by Aldhelm four centuries before, were still preserved in the memory of the people.†

5. The natural result of this mode of transmission was, that the original works of Cædmon and his contemporaries, as well as the Romances, were considerably disfigured in their passage from one reciter to another, and the more so, because the persons by whom they were chiefly preserved were often themselves professed minstrels, and therefore more likely to adulterate them. When these

* Eddius, Vita Wilfred. in Gale, pp. 52, 53.

† Such was the case with the songs made on the marriage of Gunhilda, daughter of Cnut, with the Emperor Henry, full half a century before the Norman conquest,—celebris illa pompa nuptialis fuit, et nostro adhuc seculo etiam in triviis cantitata. Wil. Malms. p. 77, ed. 1601. The poems of Homer were originally preserved in much the same manner, and they seem to have suffered in their transmission in the same way, though (from circumstances) to a much smaller degree than the Anglo-Saxon poetry.

minstrels sung them, it was of course in the dialect which they themselves spoke, and hence it happens that we find them all *written* in the pure West Saxon of the age to which the manuscripts belong; for at that time the West Saxon had become the language of learning, the Attic dialect of our island. To the philologist this must ever be a subject of regret, for it has deprived us of the means of examining closely the dialects and changes of the Anglo-Saxon language. Sometimes the minstrel forgot a few lines, or a long passage, and the poem became imperfect; sometimes he lost a line, or a word, and was obliged to make one to supply its place, or to borrow one which his memory might supply from some other poem; and at other times he might change particular passages, more especially the introductions to poems, to suit the occasion, or to please his own fancy. Hence the argument raised against the authenticity of the poetry attributed to Cædmon, because its introductory lines do not agree with certain other lines that have been accidentally preserved as Cædmon's Introduction, loses much of its weight. Again, as everything tends to show that the Minstrels paid little attention to the claims of any particular author to what they sung, even the name of Cædmon would soon be forgotten, except as one of the worthies of Bede's history; and the King of the West Saxons himself might read or listen to his poetry, without being aware that it was the composition of that famous poet of whom he had been reading in the historian.

6. The manuscripts which remain, to whatever page we turn, bear witness to the truth of these remarks. If we collate two or three manuscripts of the same prose Saxon work, we find few variations, and those of a trifling description, such as the omission of an unimportant word,

or the change of certain letters which were always used as interchangeable. But the manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon poetry abound in every kind of defect, and these faults are mostly of such a nature as to show that their contents must have been taken down from recitation. We have seldom the opportunity of comparing two manuscripts of the same poem; but in the Exeter Manuscript there are some fragments of what is printed as Cædmon, and by a comparison of these, we find that words beginning with the same letter are continually interchanged in the alliteration, that whole lines which had escaped the memory of the reciter had been supplied by others which still made alliteration and sense, that a word, a line, and sometimes a paragraph, had been lost here and there, and these are combined with a host of smaller variations. Sometimes a passage has suffered so much, that it no longer affords either alliteration or sense (or, as we should say of modern verse, either rhyme or reason), and the latter folios of the manuscript of Cædmon are evidently nothing but the stringing together of such passages of the original as the scribe could at the moment recall to memory. The number and character of these variations also support the argument above stated for the antiquity of the poetry itself.

7. Indeed the principal manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon religious poetry which are left, can only be regarded as so many miscellaneous collections of poems and fragments, written down probably at different times, and from the recitation of different persons. Of the poem of Judith, one of the finest specimens of Anglo-Saxon song, we have only a fragment preserved in a Cottonian manuscript.*

* Vitellius, A. xv. the same MS. which has preserved the romance of Beowulf.

The collection which goes by the name of Cædmon, and which is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is rather a series of pieces on scriptural subjects, perhaps not all by the same hand, than a continued poem. That known as the Exeter Manuscript, is extremely miscellaneous: we find in it fragments of Cædmon and other religious poems, pious songs in praise of the Virgin, legends of the day of judgment, of the punishments inflicted on the wicked in the other world, of the Phœnix and the terrestrial paradise, of St. Guthlac and St. Juliana, along with fragments of all kinds from romances and religious poems, moral sayings, riddles, &c. A manuscript preserved at Vercelli, in Piedmont, for the publication of which we are indebted to the literary zeal of Mr. Purton Cooper, contains also much fine Anglo-Saxon religious poetry, as the legend of St. Andrew, and that of the Invention of the Cross, with one or two fragments.*

8. The style of the Anglo-Saxon religious poetry bears a close resemblance to that of the romances. It is distinguished by the same abundance of epithet and metaphor, and by the same richness of colouring. It is even more pompous, and seems to have been marked by a much more frequent use of the longer measure of verse. It excels also in precisely the same class of pictures which strike us most in Beowulf—and particularly in those which belong to war and festivity. Cædmon, for instance, affords us

* The poem of Judith is printed in Thorpe's Analecta. Cædmon, and the poetry of the Vercelli MS. are both edited by Mr. Thorpe, to whose learning and zeal we owe, in addition to the translation of Raske's Grammar and the edition of the Paris Psalter, the two most useful and elementary books which any language possesses,—the *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, and an edition of the Anglo-Saxon translation of Apollonius of Tyre. The Exeter Book is, we are glad to hear, in the press, to be edited by Mr. Thorpe, and published, like Cædmon, at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries.

the following peculiarly impressive description of the march of an army—

þa him eorla mód	Then the mind of his men
ortrywe wearð,	became despondent,
siððan hie ge-sawon	after they saw
of suð-wegum	from the south ways
fy'rd Faraónis	the host of Pharaoh
forð on-gangan,	coming forth,
ofer holt wegan,	moving over the holt,
eored lixan.	the band glittering.
Gáras trymedon,	They prepared their arms,
guð hwearfode,	the war advanced,
blicon bord-hreoðan,	bucklers gleamed,
by'man sungon,	trumpets sung,
þufas þunian,	standards rattled,
þeod-mearc tredan.	they trod the nation's frontier.
On hwæl hwreopon	Around them screamed
here-fugolas,	the fowls of war,
hilde græ'dige,	greedy of battle,
deawig-feðere,	dewy-feathered,
ofer driht-neum,	over the bodies of the host,
wonn wæl-ceasega ;	the dark chooser of the slain (the raven) ;
wulfas sungon	the wolves sung
atol æfen-leoð	their horrid even-song
æ'tes on wénan,	in hopes of food,
carleasan deor	the reckless beasts
cwyld róf[um] beodan.	threatening death to the valiant.

(*Thorpe's Cædmon, p.* 187.)

A similar description is found in the fragment of Judith—

þa wearð snelra werod	Then was the army of the bold ones
snude ge-gearewod,	quickly made ready,
cénra to campe ;	of the men eager for the conflict ;
stópon cyne-rófe	marched on nobly
secgas and gesiðas,	the warriors and their companions,
bæron þufas,	they carried the standards,
fóron to ge-feohte	went to the fight
forð on ge-rihte,	straight forwards,
hæleð under helmum,	the heroes under their helms,
of þære haligran byrig,	from the holy city,
on þæt dæg-red sylf ;	at the very dawn ;
dynedan scildas,	the shields resounded,
hlude hlummon.	loudly they roared.

þæs se hlanca ge-feah	Therefore the lank wolf
wulf in walde,	rejoiced in the forest,
and se wanna hrefn,	and the swarthy raven,
wæl-gifre fugel,	the bird greedy of slaughter,
westan begen,	both from the west,
þæt him ða þeod-guman	that there of mankind
þohton tilian	they thought to get
fylle on fægum ;	their fill amidst the slain ;
ac him fleah on laste	and in their track flew
earn ætes georn,	the eagle greedy of food,
úrig feðera,	hoary of feathers,
salowig pada	the sallow-coated one
sang hilde leoð,	he sang the war-song,
hyrned nebba.	horny-beaked.
Stópon heaðo-rincas,	The warriors marched,
beornas to beadowe,	the chieftains to the war,
bordum be-ðeahte,	protected with bucklers,
hwealfum lindum,	with arched linden-shields,
þa ðe hwíle ær	who a while before
elðeodigra	had suffered the reproaches
edwit þoledon,	of the foreigners,
hæðenrá hosp.	the insult of the heathens.

(*Thorpe's Analecta*, *p.* 137.)

The same poem presents us with a remarkable description of a drunken feast, which is also a good specimen of the mixture of long and short metres—

þær wæron bollan steape	There were deep bowls
boren æfter bencum gelome,	carried along the benches often
swylce eac bunan and orcas	so likewise cups and pitchers
fulle flet-sittendum :	full to the people who were sitting on [couches :
hie þæt fæge þegon,	the renowned shielded-warriors
rófe rond-wiggende,	were fated, while they partook thereof,
þeah ðæs se ríca ne wende,	although that powerful man did not think [it,
egesful eorla dryhten.	the dreadful lord of earls.
Ða wearð Holofernus,	Then was Holofernes,
gold-wine gumena,	the munificent patron of men,
on gyste-salum ;	in the guest-hall ;
hloh and hlydde,	he laughed and rioted,
hlynede and dynede,	made tumult and noise,
þæt mihten fira bearn	that the children of men
feorran ge-hy'ran,	might hear afar,
hu se stið-móda	how the stern one
styrmde and gylede,	stormed and shouted,
modig and medu-gal,	moody and drunk with mead,

manode ge-neahhe	exhorted abundantly
benc-sittende,	the sitters on the bench,
þæt hi ge-bærdon wel.	so that they conducted themselves well.
Swa se inwidda	Thus this wicked man
ofer ealne dæg,	during the whole day
dryht-guman sine	his followers
drencte mid wine,	drenched with wine,
swið-mod sinces brytta,	the haughty dispenser of treasure,
oð þæt hie on swiman lagon,	until they lay down intoxicated,
ofer-drencte his duguðe ealle,	he over-drenched all his followers,
swylce hie wæron deaðe ge-slegene,	like as though they were struck with death,
agotene góda gehwylces :	exhausted of every good :
swa het se gumena aldor	thus commanded the prince of men
fylgan flet-sittendum,	to fill to those who were sitting on couches,
oð þæt fira bearnum	until to the children of mortals
nealæhte niht seo þystre.	the dark night approached.

(*Thorpe's Analecta, p.* 131.)

9. The Anglo-Saxon poems of a more miscellaneous character, which are preserved, are neither very numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, of any great importance. Political excitement soon took the place of pious zeal, and the religious poetry, thrown from its former high position, was chiefly occupied in hymns and prayers. The clergy introduced regular alliteration sometimes even into their sermons, apparently in order to make them more impressive, and more easy to carry in mind by a people whose memory was less accustomed to retain prose than verse. In the Exeter Manuscript we have much poetry that is certainly of no very remote antiquity, compared with the manuscript itself, and among these we may mention the different poems in praise of the Virgin Mary, which show that the worship of "our Lady" was gaining ground rapidly among the Anglo-Saxons at the time when they were written. The poetry of this class of writings is not of a very high order, for the task of composing them had passed out of the hands of the poets into those of the monks.

10. We may naturally suppose, indeed, that, amid the continued wars of the ninth and tenth centuries, the peaceful dictates of Christianity were among the last subjects that would be listened to by the excited warriors. The minstrel who would obtain praise or reward, sang matters of more temporary interest; and there was produced a great number of political songs, upon which, long treasured up in the memory of the people, later chroniclers built much of the history of these eventful times. William of Malmsbury, and some other writers of his age, make frequent allusions to these songs, and one or two are preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. There has also come down to us one large fragment of a fine poem on the battle of Maldon and the death of the "ealderman" Byrhtnoth, in 993, which furnishes us with an interesting picture of Anglo-Saxon feelings. The speeches which are put into the mouths of Byrhtnoth's noble followers, the "lofty thanes" (wlance þegenas), when they devote themselves to death in the field on which their superior lord had already fallen, are strongly characteristic. Alfwine, the son of Alfric, a young warrior, first addressed his companions,—

On ellen-spræc ge-muna	Remember the bold speech
þa mæle þe we oft	which we oft times
æt meodo spræcon,	spoke at our mead,
þonne we on bence	when we on the bench
beot ahófon,	made our boasts,
hæleð on healle,	we warriors in the hall,
ymbe heard ge-winn;	about hard war;
nu mæg cunnian	now may be tried
hwa céne sy;	who is valiant;
ic wylle míne æþelo	I my nobility
eallum ge-cyþan,	will make known to all,
þæt ic wæs on Myrcon	that I was among the Mercians
miccles cynnes,	of noble race,
wæs mín ealda-fæder	my grandfather was
Ealhelm haten,	called Ealhelm,
wís ealdorman,	a wise chieftain,

woruld-ge-sælig.
Ne sceolon me on þære þeode
þegenas ætwítan,
þæt ic of þisse fyrde
féran wille,
eard gesécan,
nu mín ealdor ligeð
for-heawen æt hilde :
me is þæt hearma mæst,—
he wæs ægðer mín mæg
and mín hláford.
(*Thorpe, Analec. p.* 127.)

rich in worldly possessions.
Me the thanes shall not
reproach among the people,
that I from this expedition
will depart,
will seek my home,
now that my lord lieth low
hewn to death in the battle :
that is to me the greatest of griefs,—
he was both my kinsman
and my lord.

The exhortation of Alfwine is answered by several of his companions, and, among the rest, by Leofsunu of Sturmere (in Essex)—

Leofsunu ge-mælde,
and his linde ahof,
bord to ge-beorge,
he þam beorne on-cwæð :
Ic þæt ge-háte,
þæt ic heonon nelle
fleón fótes trym,
ac wille furðor gán,
wrecan on ge-winne
mínne wine-drihten.
Ne þurfon me embe Stur-mere
stéde-fæste hæleð
wordum ætwítan,
nu mín wine ge-crane,
þæt ic hláford-leas
hám siðie,
wende fram wige,
ac me sceal wæpen níman,
ord and íren.
He ful yrre wód
feaht fæstlice,
fleam he for-hogode.
(*Ib. p.* 128.)

Leofsunu spake,
and lifted his linden buckler,
the shield for his protection,
he said to the warrior :
"This I promise,
that I will not hence
fly a foot's space,
but that I will advance onward,
to avenge in the battle
my beloved chieftain.
They about Sturmere shall not need,
the steadfast warriors,
to reproach me with words,
now my comrade is fallen,
that I lord-less
journey home,
that I depart from the war,
but me shall the weapon take,
edge and iron."
He full mad with anger
fought firmly,
flight he despised.

As may be seen in the passages here cited, the crowded epithets and metaphors of the romances and earlier religious poems are not found in these later productions.

§ III. *The Anglo-Latin Writers.*

1. While the introduction of the Christian religion was thus modifying the old national literature of the Anglo-Saxons, a foreign literature was brought in with it, which was soon to exercise an important influence. Many of the missionaries whom the Anglo-Saxon Church justly regarded as its fathers, were distinguished as scholars, and by their example a general love of learning was soon spread amongst their converts. Schools had been already founded before the middle of the seventh century. It is, however, to two foreign scholars, Theodore and Adrian, who were sent into England early in the latter half of the same century, that we owe the establishment of learning among the Anglo-Saxons. Theodore, a native of Tarsus, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and even at Rome was famous for his extensive acquaintance with profane as well as sacred literature, and that equally in the Latin and Greek languages.* His friend the Abbot Adrian was by birth an African, but, like his companion, he was, to use the words of Bede, "exceedingly skilled both in Greek and Latin;"† and he is termed by William of Malmsbury "a fountain of letters and a river of arts."‡ These two foreigners first began to teach openly, in conjunction with the Christian faith, the arts and sciences, and the languages of Greece and Rome, and their school was so well attended, that, when Bede wrote his history, there were still alive some of their scholars,

* Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 1. and his Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth. p. 223, in the Cologne edition of his works. The genuine penitential of Theodore, preserved in the Library of Corp. Chr. Col. Cambridge, will appear for the first time in Mr. Thorpe's new edition of the A.-S. Laws.

† Bede, Hist. Eccl. *ib.*

‡ Qui esset fons litterarum, rivus artium. W. Malms. de Pontif. p. 340.

who, as he assures us, were as well versed in Greek and Latin as in their own native tongue.* Amongst those who had profited most by Adrian's teaching was Aldhelm of Sherburn.

2. The Anglo-Saxons approached the intellectual field which was thus laid open to them with extraordinary avidity. They were like the adventurous traveller who has just landed on a newly discovered shore: the very obstacles which at first stood in their way, seemed to have been placed there only to stimulate their zeal. They thus soon gained a march in advance even of their teachers, and the same age in which learning had been introduced amongst them, saw it reflected back with double lustre on those who had sent it. At the beginning of the eighth century, England possessed a number of scholars who would have been the just pride of the most enlightened age; and not only teachers, but books also, were sent over to the Franks and Germans. The science which they planted there, continued to flourish long after it had faded at home.

3. The cultivation of letters was in that age by no means confined to the robuster sex—the Anglo-Saxon ladies applied themselves to study with equal zeal, and almost equal success. It was for their reading chiefly that Aldhelm wrote his book *De Laude Virginitatis*. The female correspondents of Boniface wrote in Latin with as much ease as the ladies of the present day write in French, and their letters often show much elegant and courtly feeling. They sometimes also sent him specimens of their skill in writing Latin verse. The abbess Eadburga was one of Boniface's most constant friends; she seems to have frequently sent

* Indicio est quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ac propriam, in qua nati sunt, norunt. Bede, Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 2.

him books, written by herself or by her scholars, for the instruction of his German converts; and on one occasion he accompanies his letter to her with a present of a silver pen.* Leobgitha, one of her pupils, concludes a letter to Boniface by offering him a specimen of her acquirements in Latin metres.—"These underwritten verses," she says, "I have endeavoured to compose according to the rules derived from the poets, not in a spirit of presumption, but with the desire of exciting the powers of my slender talents, and in the hope of thine assistance therein. This art I have learnt from Eadburga, who is ever occupied in studying the divine law."† The four hexameters which follow this introduction, though not remarkable for elegance or correctness, are still a favourable specimen of the attainments of a young Anglo-Saxon dame. They are addressed as a concluding benediction to Boniface himself:—

"Arbiter omnipotens, solus qui cuncta creavit,
In regno patris semper qui lumine fulget;
Qua jugiter flagrans sic regnet gloria Christi,
Illæsum servet semper te jure perenni."

4. The zeal for the study of foreign literature, joined with religious prejudices, was followed by another result. As early as the latter end of the seventh century, all ranks of people were seized with a desire of visiting Rome, the source from which had issued this pure stream

* Unum graphium argenteum. Bonifac. Epist. p. 73, in his works. It is, perhaps, rather a license thus taken in calling *graphium*, a pen: it seems to have been more properly a kind of instrument for scraping and rubbing, which the scribe held in his hand while writing.

† Istos autem subterscriptos versiculos componere nitebar secundum poeticæ traditionis disciplinam, non audacia confidens, sed gracilis ingenioli rudimenta excitare cupiens, et tuo auxilio indigens. Istam artem ab Eadburgæ magisterio didici, quæ indesinenter legem divinam rimari non cessat. *Ib.* p. 83.

of doctrine and knowledge. Bishops and priests sought to receive confirmation of their estate and doctrine from the hand and mouth of the Pope; multitudes of the middle classes left their homes and goods to spend their lives in the vicinity of the see of the apostle Peter; even princes laid down their crowns in order to end their days in the holy city. At first the heads of the church encouraged this kind of pious exile. The numerous visits to Rome brought with them many advantages; they increased the general taste for knowledge, and gave rise to a spirit of intellectual adventure and research; and the travellers often spent their time in that city of science and learning in transcribing old manuscripts, or their money in purchasing them; so that, in addition to many of the luxuries and elegancies of life, they came home laden with books. But it was soon found that this rage for travelling to Italy was attended with great evils and inconveniences; and it is strongly condemned by Boniface, who laments, in some of his letters, that the pilgrims were continually falling off before the temptations and dangers which befel them among strange people in unknown lands. The women, in particular, who left their homes with the intention of becoming nuns at Rome, were sometimes drawn into a less respectable way of living in the towns that lay in their way, and their conduct was more likely to throw disgrace than lustre upon the Christianity of the Anglo-Saxons.*

5. In England, during the eighth century, the multiplication of books was very great. The monks were emulous of attaining skill in writing and illuminating. At a later period, this was enumerated as one of the accomplish-

* Quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum, quod scandalum est, etc. Bonifac. Epist. p. 105.

ments even of so great a man as Dunstan.* Diligence and industry, in the absence of the more speedy process of printing, enabled the Anglo-Saxons not only to form several public libraries in England, as well as private collections, but also to send out of the country books in considerable numbers. Boniface, while moving about from place to place on the Continent, addresses frequent demands of this kind to his brethren at home; who, on the other hand, are constantly applying for copies of new books, or such as were not yet known in England, which he might chance to meet with, in order to increase their own stores. At one time he asks for some works of Bede,—at another time he prays one of his friends to send him some of those of Aldhelm, "to console him amidst his labours with these memorials of that holy bishop;" and on one occasion he asks the abbess Eadburga to cause a copy of the Gospels to be written magnificently in letters of gold, and sent to him in Germany, that his converts there might be impressed with a proper reverence for the sacred writings.† A similar volume had, at an earlier period, been given by Wilfrid to the church of York, where it was an object of great admiration; it contained the four Gospels written in letters of gold on purple vellum, and its cover, made of solid gold, was studded with gems and precious stones.‡ Many specimens of the magnificent writings of this age are still preserved. A noble copy of the Gospels, written

* Artem scribendi, necne citharizandi, pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit. Life of Dunstan, in MS. Cotton. Cleopat. B. XIII. fol. 69, r°. (by Bridferth.)

† Bonifac. Epist. p. 81.

‡ Addens quoque Sanctus Pontifex noster inter alia......inauditum ante seculis nostris quoddam miraculum. Nam quatuor Evangeliæ de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis, pro animæ suæ remedio scribere jussit; necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem de auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam, compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit, etc. Eddii Vita Wilfridi, p. 60, in Gale's Scriptores.

at Lindisfarne in the latter years of the seventh century, after having escaped many perils both by fire and flood, is now deposited among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum, where it is known by the title of the Durham Book;* but the rich cover which once inclosed it has long disappeared. It was, indeed, but a short-sighted devotion to apply these valuable materials to such a purpose; for amidst the troubles which came on a little later—internal dissensions, and the ravages of a foreign enemy who respected not the faith in which they had originated—the books were too often sacrificed to the rapacity which their exterior dress had excited.

6. In the time of Theodore and Adrian, the principal seats of learning were in Kent, and the south of England, where it continued long after to flourish at Malmsbury, and in some other places. But the kingdom of Northumbria seems to have afforded a still more congenial situation; and the school established at York, by Wilfred and Archbishop Egbert, was soon famous throughout Christendom. Egbert taught there Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and the vast collection of books, which had been amassed by him and his predecessors, afforded great facility to literary pursuits. Alcuin, who was one of his scholars, frequently dwells with pleasure, in his letters, on the memory of his ancient master and early studies, and contrasts the literary stores amongst which he had been bred with the barrenness of France. In 796, when he was engaged in his school at Tours, he writes to Charlemagne—"I here feel severely the want of those invaluable books of scholastic erudition which I had in my own country, by the kind and most affectionate industry of my master, and

* It was written by Bishop Eadfred, then only a monk. Eadfred died in 721. A very interesting popular account of this manuscript is given in Brayley's Graphic Illustrator, p. 355.

also in some measure by my own humble labours. Let me therefore propose to your excellency, that I send over thither some of our youth, who may collect for us all that is necessary, and bring back with them into France the *flowers of Britain*." * In his metrical history of the church of York,† Alcuin gives a more particular account of this library; he tells us that it contained, amongst many other books which he thought of less consequence, the works of Jerome, Hilarius, Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Gregory, Pope Leo, Basil, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, John Chrysostom, and Victorinus, with those of the native writers, Bede and Aldhelm. Among the historical writers and philosophers there were Orosius, Boethius, Pompeius (probably Justin), Pliny, Aristotle, and Cicero. The poets who were then chiefly read were all found there, such as Sedulius, Juvencus, Alcimus, Clemens (*i. e.* Prudentius), Prosper, Paulinus, Arator, Fortunatus, Lactantius; and, of the antients, he mentions Virgil, Statius, and Lucan, as being at that time the most esteemed. The grammarians were also numerous, such as Probus, Phocas, Donatus, Priscian, Servius, Eutychius, Pompeius (probably Festus), and Commianus. In fact, books of Theology and Grammar were those most studied and sought after at this period, and are the subjects most frequently mentioned by the correspondents of Boniface in their inquiries after new works. In a volume preserved in the British Museum, written not much later than the beginning of the ninth century, the original possessor, whose name was Athelstan, a great reader, as it appears, of grammatical and scientific books, has inserted on one of the pages a catalogue of his own library; it consisted of Isidore's treatise *de Natura Rerum*, at that period one

* Alcuini, Epistolæ, p. 53, in his works.

† Alcuin. de Pontif, etc. Eborac. p. 730, in Gale's Scriptores.

of the text-books of general science, and a book of calculations, or arithmetic, which he had obtained from a priest named Alfwold; his grammatical treatises were two works on metres, the less and greater Donatus, a gloss on Cato, and another on Donatus, and an anonymous treatise on Grammar, with a book of *Dialogues*, the subject of which is uncertain. The only book falling under the class of theology is a copy of the Apocalypse; and there are two poets, Persius and Sedulius.* But when we bear in mind that it was the custom in cataloguing books to give the title of the first work in the volume only, and that the volume in which this list is found, and which is described in it by the title of Isidore *de Natura Rerum*, contains, in addition to that treatise, Bede's Poem *De Die Judicii*, a work of Priscian, a glossary of uncommon Latin words, and some other things; we may conclude that Athelstan's library was by no means to be despised. With these libraries may be compared that of Bishop Leofric, which he gave to the church of Exeter in the earlier part of the eleventh century, after the Anglo-Saxon language had become more popular with the writers of books. In this collection, consisting of near sixty volumes, there were twenty-eight containing English works, mostly theology, hymns, homilies, and translations of scripture, but including King Alfred's translation of Boethius, and the great collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry which is still preserved and known by the name of the Exeter Book,† in a fly-leaf of which

* þis syndon ðа bec þe Æþestanes wæran. de Natura Rerum. Persius. De Arte Metrica. Donatum minorem. Excerptiones de Metrica Arte. Apocalipsin. Donatum majorem. Alchuinum. Glossam super Catonem. Libellum de Grammatica Arte quæ incipit, *Terra quæ pars*. Sedulium. and i. ge-rím wæs Alfwoldes preostes. *Glossa super Donatum. Dialogorum.*—MS. Cotton. Domit. A. I. fol. 55, v°. The last two articles seem, by the writing, to have been added to the library after the list was first written.

† The original MS. somewhat dilapidated, remains at Exeter. A care-

the catalogue is inserted. The Latin works in this collection were, in theology, the Pastorale and Dialogues of Gregory, the books of the Prophets, with various other separate portions of the Bible, a Martyrology, the Lives of the Apostles, various theological works of Bede and Isidore, and some anonymous treatises of the same kind; in philosophy, there were Boethius de Consolatione, the Isagoge of Porphyry, Isidore's Etymologies; in history, Orosius, a very popular book among the Anglo-Saxons; the poets mentioned are the ordinary Christian writers then most in repute, Prosper, several volumes of Prudentius, Sedulius, and Arator, with Persius and Statius. The contents of these three libraries, those of a great scholastic establishment, of a private individual, and of a bishop, will give a very fair view of the class of *foreign* writers most generally read by our Saxon forefathers, and consequently those on which their literary taste was moulded. The numerous manuscripts of the Saxon period which are still preserved contain chiefly the same works, except that there we find many names of less celebrity which do not appear in these lists, and also a greater number of classical authors, such as Virgil, Horace, Terence, Juvenal, and some of the more common prose writers of antiquity.

7. There can, indeed, be no doubt, not only from the manuscripts of them which are still found written in a Saxon hand, but from the manner in which the Anglo-Saxon scholars quote them in their works, that they were in the habit of reading many of the best Latin authors. Bede quotes by name, in his tracts on grammar and metres, along with Arator, Fortunatus, Sedulius, Prosper, Paulinus, Juvencus, Prudentius, and Ambrose, the writings of Virgil very frequently, as well as those of Ovid,

fully executed fac-simile copy has been deposited in the British Museum, where it is ranged among the Additional MSS. under the number 9067.

Lucan, whom he terms "poeta veteranus," Lucretius, and Homer, and he speaks even of these two latter poets as if he were well acquainted with their works.* In his tract *de Orthographia*, with Virgil and Ovid, he quotes

* The way in which Bede speaks of these two writers scarcely leaves room for doubt that the Anglo-Saxon scholars read them in the original languages. In the printed edition of his treatise de Arte Metrica (Opera, tom. i. p. 42), he speaks of the character of "Lucretii Carmina," and in the same tract, on another occasion (p. 38), he quotes a line, when speaking of the quantity which Lucretius gives to the word *aqua*—

Quæ calidum faciunt *aquæ* tactum atque vaporem.

This line is found in Lucret. de Rer. Nat. VI. 869, and does not seem to be quoted by any of the grammarians. Moreover, curiously enough, the word *aquæ* itself is a mere gloss for *laticis*, and is found only in this quotation of Bede, and therefore seems to have been an error of the manuscript which that scholar used. It may be remarked, that many of Bede's observations, in the tract here quoted, are extremely judicious.

With regard to Homer, Bede quotes him for the quantity which he *generally* gives to a short final syllable that falls at the beginning of a foot, and in a manner that seems to imply that he read the poet in Greek (de Arte Met. ib. p. 27). We might bring many passages together which seem almost to prove that Homer continued to be read in the schools till the end of the thirteenth century, when the older system of school learning was thrown out by Aristotle, and the new philosophy-course. In the curious fabliau (of the thirteenth century), published by M. Jubinal in his valuable edition of the works of Rutebeuf, entitled "The Battle of the Seven Arts," where the old and new system are drawn up in combat against each other, we have the following enumeration of the principal books read in the ancient grammar-course, which are identical with those read by the Anglo-Saxons as above stated, with this exception, that the classical writers are here rather more numerous in proportion to the others. Aristotle meets Grammar in the thick of the battle—

Aristote, qui fu à pié,	Aristotle, who was on foot,
Si fist chéoir Gramaire enverse.	Knocked Grammar down flat.
Lors i a point mesire Perse,	Then there rode up master Persius,
Dant Juvénal et dant Orasce,	Dan Juvenal and Dan Horace,
Virgile, Lucain, et Etasce,	Virgil, Lucan, and Statius,
Et Sédule, Propre, Prudence,	And Sedulius, Prosper, Prudentius,
Arator, Omer, et Térence:	Arator, *Homer*, and Terence:
Tuit chaplèrent sor Aristote,	They all fell upon Aristotle,
Qui fu fers com chastel sor mote.	Who was as bold as a castle on a hill.

(*Jubinal's Rutebeuf*, ii. 426.)

Horace, Terence, Laberius, Varro, Cornelius Severus, Macer, Pacuvius, and Lucilius, but he may have taken some of these only at second hand. Aldhelm, in his prose introduction to the Ænigmata, quotes Virgil, Juvenal, whom he calls *lyricus*, Persius, and Lucan, with Prosper and Arator. Alcuin also, in his grammatical and rhetorical tracts, brings frequent examples from Virgil, Horace, Terence, Juvenal, and Lucan.

8. The authors here enumerated, studied in a right spirit, were quite sufficient to have given the Anglo-Saxon scholars a correct and pure taste in Latin poetry. But unfortunately they imbibed prejudices even at the fountain head. At Rome, the classical writers had long ceased to be popular; for the zeal which often led the Christians, in their estimation of the sentiment, into an injudicious depreciation of the language when adorned only by its own beauties, had already condemned them to that neglect under which many of them were perishing. Those which are preserved we owe, in a great measure, to the grammarians who flourished in the latter days of the empire, such as Priscian and Donatus, who, by their continual quotations, gave some of them a certain value in the eyes of men who made those grammarians an important part of their studies. It is almost solely in grammatical treatises, that we find these authors quoted during the age which produced the principal Latin writers among the Anglo-Saxons, although most of the Anglo-Latin poets were continually endeavouring to imitate them. Aldhelm, it is true, quotes Virgil more than once in his prose treatise *de Laude Virginitatis*, and Alcuin quotes him sometimes in his letters, though he speaks of him in a very disparaging tone. We are told by an anonymous, but ancient, writer of his life, that Alcuin, "having in his youth read the books of the ancient philosophers and the *lies* of Virgil," as he ad-

vanced in years, came to a more sober judgment, and would neither hear them himself, nor permit his scholars to read them;—"The sacred poets," said he, "are enough for you; ye have no need to pollute yourselves with the luxurious eloquence of Virgil's language."* —and he severely scolded one of his scholars, named Sigulf, because he had been discovered reading that poet in private. The story cannot be true in detail, because Alcuin quotes Virgil by name in his later letters; but it shows us clearly, that, in the latter part of the eighth century, and in the ninth, when this life was probably written, the reading of the classic poets was not generally countenanced, although they were still believed to possess beauties which might fascinate the mind, and there *were* persons who still persisted in seeking them out. This, indeed, continued to be the case throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, because they were always read in conjunction with the grammarians in the schools. At a later date than the age of which we have been speaking, the historian of the Monastery of Ely declaims against "the fables of the Gentiles," which, "painted and dressed in rhetorical figures," were then read in the schools, and declares that he was moved with the emulation of writing the acts and sayings of the saints for the honour and glory of Christ, in order to supply their place.†

* Legerat isdem vir Domini libros juvenis antiquorum Philosophorum, Virgiliique mendacia, quæ nolebat jam ipse nec audire, neque discipulos suos legere, "sufficiunt," inquiens, "divini poetæ vobis, nec egetis luxuriosâ sermonis Virgilii vos pollui facundiâ."—*Vita Alcuini*, in the first vol. of his works, p. lxvi.

† Cumque gentilium figmenta, sive deliramenta, cum omni studio videamus composita, coloribus rhetoricis ornata et quasi quodammodo depicta, categoricis syllogismis et argumentationibus circumfulta et corroborata, in gymnasiis et scholis publice celebrata et cum laude recitata, dignum duximus ut sanctorum dicta et facta describantur, et descripta ad laudem et honorem

9. The Anglo-Saxon scholars naturally took chiefly for their models in poetry the works of the Christian poets which recur so often in their manuscripts, and it might well be expected that the imitators of writers who were already far removed from classic eloquence and purity of style, would themselves sink still lower in the scale. Several circumstances joined their influence in vitiating the style of the Anglo-Saxon writers. The narrow partiality of Theodore, Adrian, and their scholars, for the study of Greek,* had given a wrong turn to their literary taste; and this appears in the multitude of Greek words and expressions which they grafted upon the Latin language, so as to render their writings sometimes quite unintelligible. The imitations of the classical writers which appear in their poetry, are, as is too often the case in later times, little better than the stringing together of so many old phrases, or the use of a certain word, not because it is itself appropriate, but because some one of the old poets had used it in a similar position. They at the same time fell into an error committed more or less by imitators in every age; they chose, in preference to all others, those expressions, or words, or uses of words, which ought not to be imitated, being exceptions to

Christi referantur, etc. *Historia Eliensis*, in Gale's Scriptores, p. 463. This history was written at an early date. Does the writer allude to the Saxon schools in the neighbouring town of Cambridge?

* The partiality for the study of Greek is exhibited in the following curious enumeration of characteristics of different nations, preserved in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the ninth century (Calig. A. xv; fol. 122, v°.)—Sapientia Græcorum, invidia Judæorum, superbia Romanorum, largitas Longobardorum, sobrietas Gothorum, elevatio Francorum, gula Gallorum, ira Brittonum, stultitia Saxonum, libido Scottorum, crudelitas Pictorum.—It is very desirable that such lists as this, written at different periods and among different people, should be collected together—they would give us a curious view of the history of national character. A similar list, written in the thirteenth century, will be found in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, No. 1, p. 5. (Pickering, 1839.)

rules, and which we consider allowable in the pure Latin writers, simply because we believe that when they wrote, they would not have taken liberties which were not allowable; and these expressions, because they were strange and uncommon, they repeated over and over again with lavish profusion. The character of their native poetry led them also to affect a style, both in verse and prose, which in their Latin is often intolerably pompous and inflated. To all these sins we must add another: the early Anglo-Latin poets delighted in nothing more than ingenious conceits, enigmatical expressions, puns, and alliteration. Thus Alcuin, to quote one example among a thousand, although he certainly knew perfectly well the meaning of the name of his countrymen, yet in his metrical history of the See of York, when describing their condition before the introduction of Christianity, he cannot let slip the opportunity of telling us that they then deserved their name of *Saxons*, because they were *as hard as stones*—

> *Duritiam* propter dicti cognomine *Saxi.*

Aldhelm, in addition to his love of Greek words, fills his poems with alliterative lines like the following—

> *P*allida *p*urpureo *p*ingis qui flore vireta.

and again—

> Et *p*otiora cupit, quam *p*ulset *p*ectine chordas
> Queis *p*salmista *p*ius *p*sallebat cantibus olim.

Alcuin, in the following initial lines of a short poem, gives us an extraordinary specimen of cutting up and dividing words, which was also not uncommonly practised by the continental Latin poets, from his time to the beginning of the tenth century—

> En tuus Albinus, sævis ereptus ab undis,
> Venerat altithrono nunc miserante Deo.

Te cupiens *appel-* peregrinus *-lare* camœnis,
O Cori[d]on! Cori[d]on! dulcis amice satis.*

10. Alcuin and Aldhelm were the chief Anglo-Latin poets of this period. Aldhelm possessed all the defects above enumerated. He was a great imitator of the ancients; he was a celebrated Greek scholar, and he filled his writings with foreign words and clumsy compounds; he was also a lover and composer of Anglo-Saxon verse, and he shows a deeply rooted taste for alliteration and pompous diction; and in addition to these defects we see in his writings generally a bad choice of words, with harsh sentences, and a great deficiency in true delicacy and harmony.† In a word, Aldhelm's writings, popular as they once were, exhibit a very general want of good taste. For an example of this, we need only cite one of the embellishments of his metrical treatise *de Laude Virginum*, where he tells the story of St. Scholastica, how, when she had failed by her arguments and persuasions in prevailing on her brother to embrace Christianity, she fell on her knees in prayer by his side; how a fearful storm immediately burst over the house, and how the

* Alcuinus "*Ad Discipulum*," Poems, p. 255, in his works. Abbo, in the beginning of the tenth century, inserts *que* in the middle of a compounded word, for the sake of metre, as *ocquecidens* and *inquesulam*, for *occidensque* and *insulamque*.

† William of Malmsbury, himself a good scholar for his age, has left us a curious estimate of Aldhelm's character, in which he confesses the over-pompous style of the Anglo-Latin writers. "Denique Græci involutè, Romani splendidè, Angli pompaticè dictare solent. Id in omnibus antiquis chartis est animadvertere, quantum quibusdam verbis abtrusis et ex Græco petitis delectentur. Moderatius tamen se agit Aldelmus, nec nisi perraro et necessario verba ponit exotica. Allegat Catholicos sensus sermo facundus, et violentissimas assertiones exornat color rhetoricus. Quem si perfecte legeris, et ex acumine Græcum putabis, et ex nitore Romanum jurabis, et ex pompa Anglum intelliges." Vit. Aldelm. p. 339. If this writer alludes to the monastic charters given under the Saxon Kings, they are certainly written in the strangest "jargon" that it is possible to conceive, and Aldhelm is purity itself in comparison with them. Perhaps *chartis* only means books.

unbelieving brother was convinced by the miracle. A better poet would have dwelt upon the terrors of the storm—on its effect upon the house which held Scholastica and her brother—and on the qualms which the roaring of the thunder and the flashing of the forked lightnings struck into *his* breast. But Aldhelm loses sight of his immediate subject in his eagerness to describe a *real* storm; it is true he tells us there was wind, and thunder, and lightning, and that they affected both heaven and earth, but he finds out that there was rain also, and that the earth was moistened, and he goes out of his way to calculate its effects in swelling the rivers and flooding the distant vallies, all which circumstances have nothing to do with the virgin saint or her unbelieving kinsman. Aldhelm certainly describes a storm, but it is not a storm made for the occasion. The lines, taken by themselves, are comparatively a favourable specimen of the poet's talents—

> Mox igitur cœlum nimboso turbine totum
> Et convexa poli nigrescunt æthere furvo;
> Murmura vasta sonant flammis commista coruscis,
> Et tremuit tellus magno fremebunda fragore;
> Humida rorifluis humectant vellera guttis,
> Irrigat et terram tenebrosis imbribus aer,
> Complentur valles, et larga fluenta redundant.

11. Alcuin has, on the whole, more simplicity and less pretension in his poetry than his predecessor Aldhelm, and so far he is more pleasing; but, unfortunately, where the latter was turgid and bombastic, the former too often runs into the opposite extreme of being flat and spiritless. His style is seen to best advantage in his calm details of natural scenery. The description of the city of York, at this early period one of the most frequented commercial towns in England, is a fair specimen of the beauties of this poet: it possesses a certain degree of elegance and cor-

rectness, for which we may look in vain among the writings of Aldhelm.

> Hanc piscosa suis undis interluit Usa,
> Florigeros ripis prætendens undique campos:
> Collibus et silvis tellus hinc inde decora,
> Nobilibusque locis habitatio pulchra, salubris,
> Fertilitate sui multos habitura colonos.
> Quo variis populis et regnis undique lecti,
> Spe lucri veniunt, quærentes divite terra
> Divitias, sedem sibimet, lucrumque, laremque.
>
> *De Pontif. etc. Eborac. v.* 30.

Alcuin wrote much poetry, on various subjects, lives, histories, elegies, and epigrams. Perhaps the most favourable specimen of his muse is the elegy on the destruction of the monastery of Lindisfarne by the Danes, some parts of which are very simple and pleasing. His history of the See of York also contains some good passages.

12. The Latin poets among the Anglo-Saxons were not very numerous. During the eighth century, their best period, and the earlier part of the ninth, we find, besides the two above mentioned, Bede (the universal scholar) and Boniface, and a few others, such as Tahtwin, Cuthbert of Hereford, Acca of Hexham, and Athelwolf of Lindisfarne. In the tenth century, Fridegode wrote, in verse, the Life of Wilfred, and the Monk Wolstan that of Swithin. Henceforward the history of Anglo-Latin poetry presents almost a blank, until the formation of a school of Latin poets in the twelfth century, some of whom approached the purity of the Augustan age.

13. The Latin *prose* writers of the classic ages were very little read by the Anglo-Saxons, because they had not the same powerful allies in the grammarians to keep them in countenance. This circumstance explains what has frequently been observed by the continental writers, that the Christians from the fourth or fifth century down to the tenth and eleventh, wrote much purer Latin

in their poetry, with all their faults, than in their prose compositions. The great luminaries of the Anglo-Saxon church employed their pens chiefly on theology, and science as far as it was then studied; and their writings, not attractive by their language, offer little interest to the general reader. The theological writings of Bede, Boniface, and Alcuin, which consist chiefly of commentaries on the Scriptures, and of controversial tracts on questions then agitated, exhibit immense power of mind, disciplined by the most profound study, and characterized by much independence of thought. Aldhelm sacrifices too much to rhetorical ornament, and is the least readable of them all. We have, however, two classes of Anglo-Latin prose literature during the Saxon period, which make amends for the apparent deficiency in some of the others.

14. Boniface and Alcuin have left us a large body of familiar letters, which, from the many early transcripts of them that remain, seem to have been the delight of our forefathers during the ninth century, and which deserve to be better known than they are, even at the present day. In these letters, although the same subject of paramount importance which gave rise to the severer writings casts a shade of character over the whole, yet at times the theologian and scholar throws off the dulness of scholastic erudition, shows himself the attentive correspondent, and the affectionate friend, and amid graver business indulges in playful compliments and sallies of wit. Occasionally the present sent by a friend from a distant land will produce a joke or an epigram; at one time the follies of contemporaries will draw a smile, or even a tear; while, at another, the intelligence of the loss of a friend or the devastation by barbarous enemies of some beloved spot, is received with the pathetic elegance of heart-felt sorrow. The correspondence of Alcuin is peculiarly lively, and his letters

are interesting to us in more points of view than one. In them, the fearful struggles in Italy and the south of France, between the iron-armed warriors of the west and the Saracens who had conquered Africa and Spain, and the expeditions of Charlemagne to curb the Saxons and other tribes who paid but an uncertain obedience to his sway, events on which we are accustomed to look through the misty atmosphere of romance, till they seem little better than fables, are told as the news of yesterday; and the warrior whom we are in the habit of picturing to our minds, sheathed in iron and stern in look, employed only in bruising the heads of his enemies, or oppressing his friends, not less than the hoary-headed priest whom we imagine in flowing robes, with calm and reverend mien, preaching salvation to herds of wild men but just emerging from the ignorance of pagan superstition, stands himself before us suddenly transformed into the man of taste and the elegant scholar. It is thus that, when we abstract ourselves entirely from the outward consideration of dress and position, from the ever-varying attributes of age and country, these letters teach us the instructive lesson that the mind, when cultivated, is much the same in all ages, that it is capable of the same feelings, the same tastes, and the same intelligence, and that these show themselves naturally under the same forms,—in a word, that the old saying of the poet—

Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt,

is true when we apply it to the mind in general, and when we take into consideration diversity of time and person, as well as difference of place.

15. The Anglo-Saxons have left us but few regular histories. The Church History of Bede, the less important works of Asser and Athelweard, and two or three monastic chronicles, added to the well-known Anglo-Saxon Chroni-

cle, are nearly all we have. But the deficiency in this respect is amply compensated by an abundance of biography, a class of writing for which our Saxon forefathers seem to have had an especial partiality. Scarcely a scholar or a churchman of any consequence quitted the mortal stage, but instantly some one of his immediate friends, or of his attendants through life, consigned his history to writing, and told his reminiscences, and not unfrequently repeated much that he had heard from the mouth of him whose biography he had undertaken. These lives are peculiarly interesting; like Bede's history, they frequently exhibit the credulity of their authors; but the luminaries of the Anglo-Saxon church did not live immured in cloisters; they were stirring men in the world, the counsellors of princes, not only attending them in the cabinet, but sometimes at their side even in the field; and their memoirs are full of contemporary anecdotes of political history as well as of private manners. By these means, in the case of some of the Anglo-Saxon scholars, we have as good materials for their lives, as for that of many a literary character of the last century.

16. It is hardly necessary to say that these lives are more remarkable for their matter than for their language. In the earlier ages the disciples of the great scholars seem to have written much worse Latin than their masters; thus nothing can be more harsh than the style of Eddius, in his life of Wilfred, written at the begining of the eighth century. With the ninth century the Latin school began to decline rapidly, and we have few writers of talent at a later period. King Alfred complained that in the time of his youth, soon after the middle of this century, there were no "masters" to teach him, that is, there were no successors to Bede, and Archbishop Egbert, and Alcuin. That the ninth century was illiterate must be altogether a mistaken no-

tion, for in it was written the largest portion of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which are now left, of the older and contemporary Latin writers. But the vernacular literature, which had formerly been known only as one that was sung and preserved in the memory, and perhaps seldom written, seems to have been now gaining ground, and to have been making hasty advances towards establishing as strong a claim to the title of "book-learning," as the Latin literature to which that term had been previously given. Such, in fact, was the position which it had gained in the tenth century, when therefore we may suppose that literature had become much more generally diffused. The earlier part of the ninth century may be aptly called the *Age of Glosses*. It is apparently in manuscripts of that period that we find the greatest number of interlinear translations of the words of the Latin writers into Anglo-Saxon, a sure sign of the decay of Latin scholarship. The book which is most frequently glossed in this manner, is Aldhelm's prose treatise *de Laude Virginitatis*, which, being full of Græcisms, and having been written principally for the edification of the ladies, whom we cannot suppose to have been as well skilled in Greek as in Latin, we find accompanied by glosses, sometimes in Latin and sometimes in Anglo-Saxon. The other books which are found most frequently glossed are the Gospels and the Psalms, with the poems of Prudentius, Prosper, and Sedulius.* The *Age of Glosses* naturally led, in the latter part of the

* Of five MSS. of Aldhelm, in the King's Library in the British Museum, two are attributed, with apparent reason, to the eighth century, and neither of these are glossed in Anglo-Saxon, though one of them is most copiously glossed in Latin. Two are written in a hand not more modern than the middle of the ninth century, and are glossed here and there in Anglo-Saxon. The fifth is of the latter part of the ninth century, or, perhaps, of the beginning of the tenth, and is very full of glosses in Anglo-Saxon. The poets are generally glossed in the earlier part of the ninth century; the Gospel sometimes at a much earlier period; and the Psalms are found

ninth century, to the *Age of translations*, which opened under the reign of the immortal Alfred.

§ IV. *The Anglo-Saxon Prose Writings.*

1. Our chief authority for the private character of King Alfred is the historian Asser, his contemporary and friend, a monk of Bangor, in Wales. Asser's testimony is, as might be expected, extremely valuable and interesting; but he indulges too much in trifles, often expressing great astonishment at things which were by no means extraordinary, and making discoveries of what was not new; and he frequently judges of the monarch of the West Saxons as though he were speaking of one of his fellow monks. In those days, the first quality of a King was not necessarily the being able to read and write. Alfred appears, from his infancy, to have received a princely education. He was carefully instructed in, and habituated to, hunting and other royal exercises, and from an early age he was made to *commit to memory* the national poetry, to which he was never tired of listening. It was his love for this class of literature, and the temptation of a handsomely written manuscript offered to him by his mother, that encouraged the royal child to overcome the difficulty of learning to read.* This he did not attempt until his twelfth year; and Asser, probably with little justice, attributes this supposed tardiness to his parents' negligence.†

glossed as late as the begining of the eleventh, and even in the twelfth century, as in the instance of a superb manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 17, 1.

* Sed Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor relatu aliorum sæpissime audiens docibilis memoriter retinebat, in omni venatoria arte industrius venator, incessabiliter laborat non in vanum. . . . Cum ergo quodam die mater sua sibi et fratribus quendam Saxonicum poematicæ artis librum quem in manu habebat ostenderet, etc. *Asser, Vita Ælfr. ed. M. Parker, p.* 7.

† Sed, proh dolor! indigna suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria usque ad xii. ætatis annum aut eo amplius illiteratus remansit. *Id. ib.*

2. In Alfred's time the study of the Latin language had fallen so much into neglect, that even the priests could scarcely translate the church service, which they were in the constant habit of reading. The king himself regretted that he had not learnt Latin until a late period of life; but his sorrow was greater for the general ignorance of his countrymen than for his own backwardness. He then, as he tells us in his preface to the Pastorale, looked back with regret to the flourishing state of learning in England at an earlier period, "and how they came hither from abroad to seek wisdom and doctrine in this land, whereas we must now get it from without, if we will have it at all."* He tells us that when he ascended the throne there were few persons south of the Humber who could translate from Latin into English, and he did not believe that they were much better provided on the other side of that river. "I also called to mind," says the royal writer, "how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, that the churches throughout the whole English nation stood filled with treasures and with books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants, yet they reaped very little of the fruit of those books, because they could understand nothing of them, since they were not written in their own native tongue."† He then proceeds to express his wonder that the great scholars who had formerly lived in this island had not translated the Latin books into English; but he attributes this to the little expectation which they could ever have

* And hu man ut on borde wisdomes and lare hider on land sohte, and hu we hi nu sceoldon ute begitan, gif we hi habban sceoldon. *Alfred. Pref. to Gregory's Pastorale, ed. M. Parker.*

† Þa ge-munde ic eac hu ic ge-seah ær þam þe hit eal for-hergod wære and for-bærned, hu þa circan geond eal Angel-cyn stodon maðma and boca ge-fylled, and eac micel mænigu Godes þeowa, and þa swiðe lytle feorme þara boca wiston, forþam þe hi hira nan þing on-gitan ne mihton, forþam þe hi næron on hira agenge þeode a-writene. *Ib.*

harboured, that good scholarship would decline so much, that they should no longer be understood in the originals.

3. Alfred was ambitious of remedying both these evils, of supplying his country at the same time with scholars and with translations. With a view to the first of these objects he invited learned men from abroad, and among the rest Grimbald, whom he made abbot of Winchester, and John of Corvei, whom he in like manner placed over the new monastery of Athelney. Among the scholars patronised by Alfred, we must also reckon the erudite but free-spoken John Scotus, famous for his knowledge of Greek, and for his severity and sourness of manners, by which, according to the story which was afterwards prevalent, he at last so provoked his scholars, that they fell upon him with their writing instruments and stabbed him to death. Alfred himself led the way in translating the Latin books into Anglo-Saxon. Among the works which we owe to his pen, the most important are translations of the Pastorale of Gregory, destined more particularly for the use of his clergy,—of the treatise of Boethius *de Consolatione Philosophiæ,* one of the most popular Latin books in the middle ages, and which was often translated into almost every language of Europe,—and of the Ancient History of Orosius, and the English Church History of Bede. Other translations were made by his order, as that of the Dialogues of Gregory by Werfred bishop of Worcester;* and no doubt many others were eager to follow so illustrious an example.

4. We must not, however, let ourselves be led by the greatness of his exertions to estimate Alfred's own learning at too high a rate. In "Grammar" his skill was never very profound, because he had not been instructed

* W. Malmsb. p. 45. (Ed. 1601). Ingulph. p. 870. ib.

in it in his youth; and the work of Boethius had to undergo a singular process before the royal translator commenced his operations. Sighelm, bishop of Shirburn, one of Alfred's chosen friends, was employed to turn the original text of Boethius "into plainer words,"—"a necessary labour in those days," says William of Malmsbury, "although at present (in the 12th century) it seems somewhat ridiculous."* And in a similar manner, before he undertook the translation of the Pastorale, he had it explained to him—the task was perhaps executed sometimes by one, sometimes by another—by Archbishop Plegmund, by Bishop Asser, and by his "mass-priests" Grimbald and John.† But Alfred's mind was great and comprehensive; and we need not examine his scholarship in detail in order to justify or to enhance his reputation. His translations are well written; and whatever may have been the extent of his knowledge of the Latin language, they exhibit a general acquaintance with the subject superior to that of the age in which he lived. Whenever their author added to his original, in order to explain allusions which he thought would not be understood, he exhibits a just idea of ancient history and fable, differing widely from the distorted popular notions which were prevalent then and at a subsequent period in the vernacular literature.‡ There is one apparent exception to this observa-

* Libros Boethii .... planioribus verbis elucidavit ...... illis diebus labore necessario, nostris ridiculo. Sed enim jussu regis factum est, ut levius ab eodem in Anglicum transferretur sermonem.—*W. Malms.* p. 248.

† Swa swa ic hi ge-leornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscope, and æt Assere minum biscope, and æt Grimbolde minum mæsse-preoste, and æt Johanne minum mæsse-preoste.—*Preface to the Pastorale.*

‡ It is observable throughout the middle ages, that what is stated correctly and judiciously in the Latin writers appears most grossly incorrect and capriciously distorted whenever we meet with it in the vernacular

tion. In translating the second metre of the fifth book of Boethius, beginning—

Puro clarum lumine Phœbum
Melliflui canit oris Homerus,—

Alfred has added an explanation which shows that Virgil was then much better known than Homer. "Homer," says he, "the good poet, who was best among the Greeks: he was Virgil's teacher: this Virgil was best among the Latins."* Alfred probably means no more than that Virgil imitated Homer: but in the metrical version of the metres of Boethius, also *attributed* to Alfred, the matter is placed quite in another light, and Homer not only becomes Virgil's teacher, but his friend also.

Omerus wæs	Homer was
east mid Crecum	in the east among the Greeks
on þæm leod-scipe	in that nation
leoþa cræftgast,	the most skilful of poets,
Firgilies	Virgil's
freond and lareow,	friend and teacher,
þæm mæran sceope	to that great bard
magistra betst.	the best of masters.

(*Metres of Boeth. ed. Fox*, p. 137.)

We will, however, willingly relieve the Anglo-Saxon monarch from all responsibility for this error, which seems to have arisen from the misconstruction of Alfred's words by some other person who was the author of the prosaic writings of the same period, a proof of the slow passage of knowledge from one class of society to another. In the metrical French romance of Troy (12th century) which is founded on the pseudo-Dares, we are told that Homer wrote mere fables which he knew were not true; and, accordingly, when he recited his work to his citizens, most of them set their faces against it, and there arose two factions at Athens: but in the end the poet had most influence, and succeeding in obtaining the general sanction of his version of the story, to the disadvantage of that of Dares.

* Ðeah Omerus se goda sceop, þe mid Crecum selest wæs; se wæs Firgilies lareow, se Firgilius wæs mid Lædenwarum selest.—*Alfred's Boethius, ed. Cardale*, p. 327.

verses that have hitherto gone under his name. Several reasons combine in making us believe that these were not written by Alfred: they are little more than a transposition of the words of his own prose, with here and there a few additions and alterations in order to make alliteration: the compiler has shown his want of skill on many occasions; he has, on the one hand, turned into metre both Alfred's preface (or at least imitated it), and his introductory chapter, which certainly had no claim to that honour; whilst, on the other hand, he has overlooked entirely one of the metres, which appears to have escaped his eye as it lay buried among King Alfred's prose.* The only manuscript containing this metrical version which has yet been met with, appears, from the fragments of it preserved from the fire which endangered the whole Cottonian Library, to have been written in the tenth century.

5. The policy of Alfred in calling into England foreign scholars, was pursued, if not successively, at least from time to time, during the whole of the century which followed, and even till the time of the Norman conquest. Athelstan, in the early part of the tenth century was a patron of learning as well as a great king, and not unworthy to sit on Alfred's throne. In return, his fame was spread abroad, and handed down to his posterity by the scholars whom he had encouraged; and we learn from William of Malmsbury and others, that his actions were the subject of more than one Latin poem. Of Dunstan, it has been said that he was second only to Alfred himself in his endeavours to raise learning and science in England.† Oswald, made Archbishop of York in 971, who

* The full discussion of this question is reserved for another occasion.

† Ipse artium liberalium in tota insula post regem Alfredum excitator munificus. — *W. Malms.* p. 56.

had himself been educated at Fleury in France, followed closely in the steps of Dunstan, and it is noted of him in the old chronicles "that he invited over into this country literary men."* The same may be said of Wulstan, another of Dunstan's friends; he brought Abbo of Fleury, who introduced into England "much fruit of science," and whose efforts were more particularly directed to the regeneration of the schools; for at that time (the latter part of the tenth century) we are told that learning (*i. e.* the study of Latin literature) had again fallen into universal decay.† In the eleventh century, under Edward the Confessor, when Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, founded a school at Waltham, we find him also seeking a foreign scholar to direct it.‡ But the frequent mention in the early historians of such incidents, is a proof that not even the power and wisdom of Alfred could restore a state of things which had, in the natural order of events, passed away, and which had been founded on feelings that no longer existed. Foreign learning was now no novelty to the Anglo-Saxons, and the excitement which alone had pushed into being the profound scholars of the age of Bede and Alcuin, ran in other channels. Alfred's own example aided in spreading the already prevalent taste for Anglo-Saxon writings, which must also have been increased by the tendency of his schools, in which the English language and the national poetry held an equal place with the study of the learned languages.

6. From the numerous manuscripts which still remain,

* Advocavit in patriam literatos homines.—*Polychron.* p. 267.

† Ad scholas regendas .... quoniam omnis fere literaturæ studium et scholarum usus per Angliam in dessuetudinem venerat et soporem.—*Historia Ramesiensis, in Gale*, p. 400. Unus fuit Abbo Floriacensis monachus, qui *multam scientiæ frugem* Angliæ invexit.—*Malms. de Pontif.* p. 270.

‡ *Vita Haroldi*, in the Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, p. 161. Conf. *Eund.* p. 157.

and from the known causes of destruction, we have every reason to believe that there did once exist a very large body of Anglo-Saxon vernacular writings. But the name of one man only, after the days of Alfred, who wrote much in his native tongue, has come down to us with any degree of certainty; and that was the grammarian Alfric. In historians of the twelfth century, we find some indications of Anglo-Saxon writings of a much earlier date, chiefly translations from Scripture, but they rest on somewhat doubtful authority, as before that time it had become fashionable to put great names to spurious books. Aldhelm translated the Book of Psalms; and Bede is said to have made an Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospel of St. John.* To the latter scholar, indeed, the following curious semi-Saxon verses, recovered with some other fragments from imminent destruction by the antiquarian zeal of Sir Thomas Phillipps,† seem to ascribe other Anglo-Saxon writings.

Sanctus Beda was i-boren	Saint Bede was born
her on Breotone mid us,	here in Britain with us,
and he wisliche	and he wisely
.... a-wende,	.... translated,
ðæt þeo Englisc leoden	that the English people
þurh weren i-lerde,	were thereby instructed,
and he þeo cı.... ten un-wreih,	and he the .... solved,
þe [we] questiuns hoteþ,	that we call questions,
þa derne digelnesse	the secret obscurity

* W. Malmsb. p. 23, (ed. 1601).

† "Fragment of Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfric's Glossary, and a poem on the Soul and Body, in the orthography of the 12th century: discovered among the Archives of Worcester Cathedral, by Sir T. Phillipps, Bart. Edited by Sir T. P. London, 1838," folio. These fragments of a valuable MS. of the twelfth century, were found in the cover of a book, for the strengthening of which they had been used. Many words and parts of words have been lost by the mutilation of the edges of the leaves, which renders the fragment here given more obscure than it would otherwise be. It has been attempted to supply the deficiencies in some part by the additions between parentheses.

þe de[ore-]wurthe is.	which is very precious.
Ælfric abbod,	Alfric the abbot,
þe we Alquin hoteþ,	whom we call Alquin,
he was bocare,	he was a scholar,
and þe.... bec wende,	and translated the .... books,
Genesis, Exodos,	Genesis, Exodus,
Utronomius,	Deuteronomy,
Numerus, Leveticus.	Numbers, Leviticus.
þı[urh] þeos weren i-lærde	Through these were taught
ure leoden on Englisc ;	our people in English ;
þet weren þeos biscop[es]	they were these bishops,
[þe] bodeden Cristendom :	who preached Christendom :
Wilfred of Ripum,	Wilfrid of Ripon,
Johan of Beoferlai,	John of Beverley,
Cuþb[ert] of Dunholme,	Cuthbert of Durham,
Oswald of Wireceastre,	Oswald of Worcester,
Egwin of Heoveshame,	Egwin of Evesham,
Æld[helm] of Malmesburi,	Aldhelm of Malmsbury,
Swiþþun, Æþelwold,	Swithin, Athelwold,
[and] Aidan,	and Aidan,
Biern of Wincæstre,	Birin of Winchester,
[Cwiche]lm of Rofecæstre,	Quichelm of Rochester,
Sanctus Dunston,	Saint Dunstan,
and S. Ælfeih of Cantoreburi :	and St. Elfege of Canterbury :
þeos læ[reden] ..	these taught
ure leodan on Englisc :	our people in English :
Næs deorc heore liht,	their light was not dark,
ac hit fæire glod.	but it burnt beautifully.
N[u is] þeo leore for-leten,	Now the doctrine is forsaken,
and þet folc is for-loren,	and the people ruined,
nu beoþ oþre leoden	now it is another people
þeo læ[ren] ure folc,	who teach our folk,
and feole of þen lor-þeines	and many of the teachers [them.
losiæþ, and ðæt folc forþ mid.	perish, and the people along with

From the repetition of the assertion that they taught in English, we might be led to suppose that the author of these verses, while lamenting over the fate of the literature of his country, then trampled under foot by the Normans, believed that all the bishops here mentioned had written in Anglo-Saxon. Yet many of them lived in the first age after the establishment of Christianity in England, and we

have no other reason whatever for placing them in our list of Anglo-Saxon authors.

7. After the name of Alfred, that of Alfric stands first among the Anglo-Saxon vernacular writers, both for the number and the importance of his works. The Heptateuch, which is evidently alluded to in the foregoing verses, is still preserved; and in the introduction which precedes the Book of Genesis, the writer offers some very judicious observations on the general character of Anglo-Saxon translations from Latin writers. We there also learn that, in the latter part of the tenth century, the Latin language was as generally neglected, even by the clergy, as it had been in the days of King Alfred.* To extend the knowledge of this language was one of the objects of Alfric's exertions, and he wrote a grammar, a glossary, and several other books of a similar kind. But his fame rests chiefly on another class of writings—his Homilies—to which, primarily, we owe the attention that has in modern times been shown to the literature of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.

8. When the Anglo-Saxons embraced the Christian religion, they naturally received along with it some errors which had already gained ground at Rome. The reverence with which a people newly emerged from paganism, and actuated by a zeal like that which was shown by the early Anglo-Saxon converts, must have looked upon their first instructors, is a sufficient excuse even for the deep theologians of those first ages, if they did not sift very carefully the doctrines which had been delivered to them. But, at the same time, the Anglo-Saxons were far removed from

* Thorpe's Analecta, p. 25. Alfric adds,—"þa ungelǽredan preostas, gif hi hwæt lites understandað of þam Lyden bócum, þonne þincð him sona þæt hi magon mǽre lareowas beon."—*The unlearned priests, if they understand a little of the Latin books, then they soon conceive the idea that they may be great scholars.*

that slavish dependence on Rome which the Catholic system at a later period enjoined. They acted and judged with freedom and independence, and they disputed or condemned unhesitatingly the errors which the Romish church afterwards continued to introduce. In the numerous Anglo-Saxon homilies written, and in part translated, by Alfric, almost every vital doctrine which distinguishes the Romish from the Protestant church, meets with a direct contradiction. After the Anglo-Norman conquest had established in England the Papal power, many copies of these homilies were preserved, because, the language being not very generally understood by the new comers, they were suffered to lie mouldering and neglected on the shelves of the monastic libraries, though we still find some manuscripts in which the most obnoxious passages have been mutilated. But in the heat of religious controversy at the period of the Reformation in England, one of Alfric's writings was brought forward, which condemned entirely the doctrine of transubstantiation as a growing error, and this unexpected and powerful ally was embraced exultingly by the Protestant champions. "What now is become of your boasted argument of apostolical tradition?" they said to their opponents—"see here that the novelties with which you charge us are older than the doctrines which you oppose to them." The result was, that men like Matthew Parker began to make diligent researches in old libraries for Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of every description.

9. Every branch of literature and science felt more or less the effects of the prevailing taste for Anglo-Saxon, instead of Latin, writings. At the time when Alfred was making his subjects acquainted, by means of his own translations, with the ancient history of Rome and the early ecclesiastical history of their country, the first foun-

dation was also laid of the famous Anglo-Saxon chronicle. Down to the year 981, this chronicle is supposed to have been compiled and written by Plegmund archbishop of Canterbury, one of Alfred's learned men. From that period the narrative of contemporary events was continued from time to time in the Anglo-Saxon tongue by different writers, until the entire breaking up of the language in the middle of the twelfth century. Equal in importance to the chronicle, and similarly written in the Anglo-Saxon language, are the laws, with which again the great name of Alfred is intimately connected. It was he who first arranged and reduced into better order the various imperfect collections of legislative regulations, which had been published and acted upon by the different kings who had lived before him. The king gives the following simple and natural description of the work which he had thus performed. "Thus then," says he, "I, Alfred the king, gathered together and caused to be written down as many of those laws which our forefathers held as pleased me, and as many as did not please me I threw away, with the advice of my witan (the representatives of the nation), and ordered them to be held differently. For I dared not venture to set many of my own in writing, because it was not clear to me how much of them might please those who come after us. But of such as I found either in the time of Ine my kinsman, or of Offa king of Mercia, or of Athelberht who first among the English people received baptism, those which seemed to me most just I collected them here, and the others I omitted. I, Alfred king of the West-Saxons, showed these to all my witan, and they then said that it pleased them all well to hold them."* The Saxon laws were revised, enlarged, and published anew in the

* Schmid, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, p. 40.

Anglo-Saxon language, by many of Alfred's successors, and particularly by Athelstan, Athelred, and Cnut.*

§ V. *Anglo-Saxon Science—the Schools, and Forms of Education.*

1. From the time when Sigebert, before the year 635, established a school in his kingdom of East-Anglia, in imitation of those which he had seen on the Continent, at least till the latter part of the tenth century, although knowledge had become more generally diffused, the Anglo-Saxons had made no advance in science itself. This was a natural consequence of the system which they pursued. The reverence with which the converts in the earlier ages had learned to regard everything that came from Rome, gradually degenerated into implicit confidence in the books of science which were imported from thence, until it became almost an article of faith to decide all difficult questions by their authority. Education was thus less a discipline of the mind, (which, with all its defects, it certainly was at a later period when western Europe had felt the influence of the Arabian school) than a mere adoption of just so much science, right or wrong, as had been handed down from previous ages. Even when men like Bede wrote elementary treatises, they were but compilers from the foreign writers, enlarging perhaps here and there on themes which had been treated too briefly; and where they thought they saw anything which was inconsistent

* The best edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws yet published is that by Schmid, with a German translation, 8vo. Leipzig, 1832 (vol. I. only). A more perfect edition was, however, entrusted by the Record Commission to the care of Mr. Thorpe, and will shortly be finished. The last edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is that by Dr. Ingram, with an English translation. A few only of the Homilies have yet been published, and a complete edition is much to be desired. They have been used to great advantage in the invaluable Bampton Lectures by Mr. Soames.

with their own observations, it was with a diffidence, sometimes approaching to fear, that they ventured to make the remark. In times nearly approaching to that of the Norman conquest, the popular treatises on science were still nothing more than compilations from Bede, and the greatest philosophers of the day seldom presumed to do more than write commentaries on his works. One of the immediate consequences of this blind submission to authority, was the production of many spurious books, some of them bearing the names of the great philosophers of antiquity, whilst others, not quite so presumptuous, were published under such names as Bede and Alcuin. These spurious writings naturally tended to add to the confused notions of the Anglo-Saxons on matters of science.

2. In the tenth century the Christians began to seek instruction in the schools of the Saracens in Spain, and particularly at Toledo; and the scientific movement which had already commenced on the Continent was felt in some measure in England, in conjunction chiefly with the monastic reforms introduced by Dunstan and Athelwold. But the popular feeling was strongly opposed to it, and the ill fame attached to science when it was brought from the country of the infidels, where it was supposed to be obtained immediately from the arch-fiend, agreed but too closely with the suspicions which attached themselves to the ascetic life of the studious monks, and to the glimpses of strange operations with which from time to time they indulged the world. For several centuries, Toledo was celebrated chiefly as the school of what were characteristically termed the *occult* sciences; and to have studied there was synonymous with being a profound magician. The readers of the old chronicles will readily call to mind the fearful story of Pope Gerbert, more historically known as Silvester the Second. He was

born in France towards the middle of the tenth century, and became a monk either at Fleury or at Rheims at an early period of his life. The love of science soon became his ruling passion, and he repaired to Toledo in order to obtain its full gratification. There he learnt the use of the astrolabe, and gained a profound knowledge not only of astronomy, but of arithmetic, music, geometry, and almost every other branch of science; and he is said to have been the first who brought from thence the knowledge of the *abacus*, that is, he introduced into France the use of those seemingly arbitrary characters which, afterwards modified into our modern numerical figures, have exercised so important an influence on mathematical knowledge.* Gerbert is also reported to have learnt there "what the singing and flying of birds portended," and to have acquired the power of calling up spirits from the other world. At Toledo he lived in the house of a famous Saracen philosopher, who had a fair daughter, and a most powerful and magical book, with which, although it was the object of his pupil's ardent desires, he could not be prevailed upon to part either for money or love. Gerbert, as the story goes, finding that it was useless to apply for the book, now made love to the lady, and thus discovered that the philosopher was in the habit of concealing it under his pillow while he slept. In an hour of conviviality he made his instructor drunk, and carried off the book in triumph. When however the philosopher awoke, he discovered, by his knowledge of the stars, which way

* Abacum certe primus a Saracenis rapiens, regulas dedit quæ a sudantibus abacistis vix intelliguntur. Wm. of Malmsb. from whom the story is taken. The characters of the abacus are found in manuscripts of the twelfth century, bearing a strong resemblance to the modern numerals as they are written in manuscripts of the thirteenth century. The book on the *abacus* is supposed to have been the magical book (grimoire) of the story.

his scholar had fled, and pursued him closely; but the latter baffled his researches by suspending himself under the arch of a bridge in such a manner as neither to be on the earth nor in the water, and while the Saracen returned home disappointed, he pursued his way till he came to the sea shore. Here he opened his book, and summoned the evil one, by whose agency he was conveyed safely over the water, but, according to a report which was current among his contemporaries, they first made an agreement by which, although the philosopher seemed to be a gainer for the time, yet in the end the advantage was to remain with the tempter. Gerbert afterwards taught publicly in the schools in France, and his lectures were so well frequented, and his fame for learning so great, that he was made archbishop first of Rheims and next of Ravenna, and finally was elected to the papal chair. His enemies failed not to represent this constant run of prosperity as the result of his compact with the devil: at Rome, as was reported, he occupied his time in seeking, by means of the "art magicall," the treasures which had been concealed by the pagans in ancient times—perhaps he was an antiquary, and collected Roman monuments; and in after ages a note appeared in some lists of popes setting forth that pope Sylvester died a bad death, though in what manner is not quite clear.

3. Among the many scholars who had profited by Gerbert's teaching, was, as it is said, Athelwold of Winchester, the friend of Dunstan, and his supporter in his monastic reforms. Dunstan himself fell under the same imputation of dealing with unlawful sciences as Gerbert, which perhaps arose as much from the jealousy of his enemies, as from his extraordinary studies.* Among various other reports,

* Some of Dunstan's enemies accused him before the king,—dicentes eum ex libris salutaribus et jurisperitis non saluti animæ profutura, sed avitæ

there went abroad a story about an inchanted harp that he had made, which performed tunes without the agency of man, whilst it hung against the wall;—a thing by no means impossible. The prejudices against Dunstan at length rose so high, that some of his neighbours, seizing upon him one day by surprise, threw him into a pond; probably for the purpose of trying whether he were a wizard or not, according to a receipt in such cases which is hardly yet eradicated from the minds of the peasantry. What was in part the nature of Dunstan's studies while at Malmsbury we may surmise from the story of a learned and ingenious monk of the same monastry named Ailmer, who not many years afterwards made wings to fly, an extraordinary advance in the march of mechanical invention, if we reflect that little more than a century before Asser the historian thought the invention of *lanterns* a thing sufficiently wonderful to confer an honour upon his patron King Alfred. But Ailmer, in the present instance, allowed his zeal to get the better of his judgment. Instead of cautiously making his first experiment from a low wall, he took flight from the top of the church-steeple, and, after fluttering for a short time helplessly in the air, he fell to the ground and broke his legs. Undismayed by this accident, the crippled monk found comfort and encouragement in the reflection, that his invention would certainly have succeeded, had he not forgotten to put a tail behind.†

gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina et histriarum colere incantationes. Vita S. Dunstani, in MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. XIII. fol. 63, v°. This is the life written by Bridferth of Ramsey, the commentator on Bede, and was printed from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Vedasti at Arras, by the Bollandists, in the Act. Sanctor. Maii, iv. 346.

† Nam pennas manibus et pedibus haud scio qua innexuerat arte, ut Dædali more volaret, fabulam pro vero amplexus; collectaque e summo turris aura spacio stadii et plus volavit, sed venti et turbinis violentia simul, et temerarii facti conscientia, tremulus cecidit, perpetuo post hæc debilis, et crura effractus. Ipse ferebat causam ruinæ, quod caudam in posteriori parte oblitus fuerit. W. Malms. (in the Scriptores post Bedam), p. 92.

4. The course of studies followed in the Anglo-Saxon schools was of considerable extent. Bede classes the sciences taught by Theodore under the three simple heads of poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic.* Alcuin informs us that Albert, who succeeded Egbert in the archbishopric of York, taught in the school there, first, grammar, rhetoric, jurisprudence, and poetry, and in addition to these all the higher branches of learning,—

> Ast alios fecit præfatus nosse magister
> Harmoniam cœli, solis lunæque labores,
> Quinque poli zonas, errantia sidera septem,
> Astrorum leges, ortus, simul atque recessus,
> Aerios motus pelagi, terræque tremorem,
> Naturas hominum, pecudum, volucrumque, ferarum,
> Diversas numeri species, variasque figuras;
> Paschalique dedit solemnia certa recursu,
> Maxima scripturæ pandens mysteria sacræ.
> (*De Pontif. Eborac. p.* 728.)

Aldhelm at the latter end of his prose treatise *de Laude Virginitatis* enumerates what he calls "the disciplines of the philosophers," under six general heads, namely, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, and mechanics†, of all which he elsewhere declares that he found arithmetic to be the most difficult and complicated. In another place he speaks of the studies of the grammarians, and the disciplines of the philosophers, as being divided into seven, alluding evidently to the arrangement which was so universal during the middle ages, in which they stood in this order, grammar, logic, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy.‡ But it is very singular that in this instance no two manuscripts of Aldhelm agree.

* Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 2.

† Omnes propemodum philosophorum disciplinas, hoc est, arithmeticam, geometricam, musicam, astronomiam, astrologiam, et mechanicam.

‡ These seven arts, known at a later period as the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the schools, are enumerated in the following well-known lines:—

> Gram. loquitur, Dia. vera docet, Rhet. verba colorat,
> Mus. canit, Ar. numerat, Geo. ponderat, As. colit astra.

The printed text, evidently formed from the nomenclature above mentioned, which is found at the end of the book, arranges the seven sciences thus,—arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, mechanics, medicine.* Of five manuscripts in the old Royal Library in the British Museum, one only, apparently of the eighth century,† agrees with this printed text. In all the others the list begins with the grammatical studies, and two of them, one of the eighth century,‡ the other of the ninth,§ give the list mentioned above, namely, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics (or logic), arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy. Of the remaining two manuscripts, one, written in the ninth century,|| combines the two lists together, and the other, probably of the end of this same century,¶ adds medicine to them all, and makes ten sciences instead of seven. A similar list, entered separately in a manuscript of the ninth century, agrees with Aldhelm's printed text.** From these variations we are led to conclude, in the first place, that the division into seven branches was not very popular among the Anglo-Saxons,††

* Igitur consummatis grammaticorum studiis et philosophorum disciplinis, quæ septem speciebus dirimuntur, id est, Arithmetica, Geometrica, Musica, Astronomia, Astrologia, Mechanica, Medicina. Aldhelm. de L. V. ed. Delrio, p. 41.

† MS. Reg. 5 F. III., fol. 24 v°.

‡ MS. Reg. 7 D. XXIV, fol. 126 v°.

§ MS. Reg. 5 E. XI. fol. 69 v°.

|| MS. Reg. 6 A. VI. fol. 64 v°.

¶ MS. Reg. 6 B. VIII. fol. 30 v°. Grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica, arithmetica, musica, geometrica, astronomia, astrologia, mechanica, medicina.

** MS. Cotton. Domitian, A. I. fol. 1 r°. To this list is added the term *mathematici, steor-wigleras.*

†† It is easy to see that the foundation of all these variations lies in the ambiguity of the sentence, "consummatis grammaticorum studiis et philosophorum disciplinis, quæ septem speciebus dirimuntur," where *quæ* and *septem* might be construed as referring to the whole, or only to the *phil. disciplinis*, but the persons with whom the numerous variations originated can have had no knowledge of the septenary division, or they would never have had any doubt on the subject.

and, secondly, that the study of medicine was considered a very important part of a scientific education, in fact, that the clergy were the chief medical practitioners.

5. With the single exception of medicine (læce-dom), we find no term in the Anglo-Saxon language for any of these branches of learning; but in the glosses, which most of these manuscripts contain, the original word is simply translated according to its component parts. We are inclined to look upon this as an additional proof that there were no scientific works written in the vernacular tongue until a late period. Thus rhetoric is translated by þel-cræft, and dialectics or logic by flit-cræft,* the latter of which will be best understood by the readers of old Scottish poetry, if we explain it as the *art of flyting.* Grammar is not translated in these glosses, but the Anglo-Saxon term generally used was stæf-craft, or the art of letters. Arithmetic is rím-cræft, or the art of numbers; geometry is translated by eorþ-gemet, or earth-measurement; music by son-cræft, or the art of sound; astronomy by tungel-æ′, or the law of the constellations; astrology by tungel-gescead, or the reason of the constellations; and mechanics by orþanc-scipe, or ingenuity.

6. The schools of the Anglo-Saxons appear in system and form of teaching to have been the prototypes of our old grammar-schools. Before the time of Alfred, English was not taught in them. The elementary treatises on Grammar, the first subject in their course of studies, were written in Latin, and it is probable that the teacher, or *magister*, in the first instance, explained and translated them orally, whilst the chief task of his scholars was to commit them to memory, and to repeat the teacher's comments. At the same time they were continually exer-

* These two glosses are found only in MS. Reg. 6 B. VII.

cised in reading and chanting in Latin. As the boys made themselves masters of the first elements of grammar, or the accidence, they were taught Latin dialogues, to make them acquainted with the colloquial forms of the language in which, as scholars, they were expected to converse. In the same manner, up to a very late period, the colloquies of Corderius and the Janua Linguarum of Comenius were the first reading books in our modern schools. The scholars were long practised in these elements of learning, before they were introduced to the higher branches. Grammar, in its more extended sense, included generally the study of the ancient authors; and since, as was before observed, it was in the study of those authors, that our forefathers in this remote age learnt science, the name of grammar was often popularly applied to the whole course of study, so much so that, in comparatively recent times, even the supposed power of the magician and conjurer was frequently designated by the same appellation of "grammarye."*

7. It is singular enough, that most of the ways of giving a popular form to elementary instruction, which have been put in practice in our own days, had been already tried in the latter times of the Anglo-Saxons. We thus find the origin of our modern catechisms amongst the forms of education then in use. Not only were many of the elementary treatises on grammar written in the shape of question and answer, with the object of making them easier to

* In the old legend of Charlemagne we are told, premièrement fist Karlemaine paindre dans son palais gramaire, qui mère est de tous les arz. Jubinal, Rutebeuf, vol. ii. p. 417. In the metrical *Image du Monde*, a work of the thirteenth century, we find one of those mystical reasons, then so common, why grammar held this high rank—it is the *science of words*, and by *the word* God created the world!

Par parole fist Dex le monde,
Et tous les biens qui ens habunde.

learn and to understand, as well as of encouraging the practice of Latin conversation, but also the first books in the other sciences. We find this to be the case in many of the tracts written by Bede and Alcuin, as well as in those which were fabricated in their names. Afterwards, when in England the Latin tongue seems to have ceased to be to the same extent as before a conventional language among the learned, various attempts were made to simplify the steps by which it was taught. First, the elementary grammars were accompanied with an Anglo-Saxon gloss, in which, separately from the text, each word of the original was repeated with its meaning in the vernacular tongue;* and then, as a still further advance in rendering it popular, the Latin grammar itself was published only in an Anglo-Saxon translation. We have seen the old Latin school-grammar pass through similar gradations in our own time. We owe to Alfric the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Latin Grammar, which, from its frequent recurrence in the manuscripts, seems to have been the standard elementary book of the day; and in the preface to that work he repeats the complaint, which had been made more than once since the days of Alfred, of the low state of Latin literature in England.† Much about the same period came into use introductory reading books, with interlinear versions, which differed not in the slightest degree from those of the Hamiltonian system of the present day. A singularly interesting specimen of such books, composed also by Alfric, has been preserved in two manuscripts, and is printed in Thorpe's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica; the text, which is a dialogue between persons of different professions,

* A metrical Latin grammar, with a glossarial adjunct of this kind, is preserved in the Harleian MS. No. 3271, written in the tenth century.

† The only printed edition of Alfric's Grammar, is that published at the end of Somner's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

is so arranged as to give within the smallest possible space the greatest variety of Latin words, and so to convey the largest quantity of instruction. This curious tract is valuable to the historian for the light which it throws upon the domestic manners of the age in which it was written. Among many other things, we learn that even the school-boys in the monasteries were subjected to a severe course of religious service; and that the rod was used very liberally in the Anglo-Saxon schools.

8. Amongst other Anglo-Saxon forms of instruction which have retained their popularity down to modern times, we must not overlook the collections of Arithmetical problems which are given in all our old elementary treatises, and are still to be found in such books as Bonnycastle's Arithmetic. The Anglo-Saxons had a regular series of such questions, many of which are identically the same as those found in modern publications. This ancient collection is printed in the works of Bede, and again in those of Alcuin, but it is probably not the work of either of those writers. It is given anonymously in a manuscript in the British Museum, which is certainly not of a later date than the tenth or eleventh century.* The first problem in the list is this:—"The swallow once invited the snail to dinner: he lived just one league from the spot, and the snail travelled at the rate of only one inch a day: how long would it be before he dined?" The following question, in various shapes, was very popular in our old school-books —"Three men and their three wives came together to the side of a river, where they found but one boat, which was capable of carrying over only two persons at once: all the

* MS. Burney, No. 59. See Bede's Works, tom. i. col. 103, and Alcuin's Works, tom. ii., where this collection is printed. In a MS. of the 10th cent. at Vienna, it is attributed to Alcuin.

men were jealous of each other: how must they contrive so that no one of them should be left alone in company with his companion's wife?" Again, "An old man met a child, 'Good day, my son!' says he, 'may you live as long as you have lived, and as much more, and thrice as much as all this, and if God give you one year in addition to the others, you will be just a century old:'—what was the lad's age?" It may be observed that none of the problems in this collection are very complicated. The title, in some copies, tells us that they were made *ad acuendos juvenes.*

9. The other sciences, as well as Arithmetic, were often the subject of questions intended at the same time to try the knowledge, and to exercise the ingenuity of the person questioned. Among the most curious tracts of this kind are the dialogues which go under the name of Saturn and Solomon, or, in one case, of Adrian and Ritheus.* The subjects of these dialogues are sometimes scriptural notions, and at others fragments of popular science, but in most cases they are of a legendary character. Thus, to the question, "Where does the sun shine at night?" the answer is that it shines in three places, first in the belly of the whale called Leviathan, next it shines in hell, and afterwards it shines on the island which is called Glith, where the souls of holy men rest till doomsday. Again, to the question, "Where is a man's mind?" the answer is, "In his head, and it comes out at his mouth." "Tell me where resteth the soul of man, when his body sleepeth?" is another question:—"I tell thee it is in three places, in the brain, or in the heart, or in the blood." Among other things we are in-

* The dialogue between Saturn and Solomon is printed in Thorpe's Analecta, p. 95, and that between Adrian and Ritheus in the Altdeutsche Blatter, vol. ii. p. 189. (Leipzig, 1836.)

formed that there are in the world fifty-two species of birds, thirty-four kinds of snakes, and thirty-six kinds of fishes, which shows the very limited knowledge of our forefathers in natural history. At Cambridge there are also preserved some fragments of a metrical Anglo-Saxon dialogue between Solomon and Saturn, in which the questions discussed are much more mystical than those which we find in the prose. There is also printed among the works of Alcuin, a Latin tract entitled *Disputatio inter Pippinum et Alcuinum*,* which bears in some parts a great resemblance to these dialogues. Among a multitude of other questions, we find some in this tract that are of a most fantastic character, such for example as,—"How is man placed? like a candle in the wind.—What is the forehead? the image of the mind.—What is the sky? a rolling sphere.—What is man? a painter of the earth.—What is grass? the garment of the earth.—What are herbs? the friends of the physicians, and the praise of cooks." The following definitions of a ship remind us of the metaphorical language of Anglo-Saxon poetry—"a ship is a wandering house, a hostle wherever you will, a traveller that leaves no footsteps, a neighbour of the sand." After going through a variety of other questions, more or less singular, the dialogue at last becomes a mere collection of enigmas, such as, "What is that, from which if you take the head, it becomes higher?" *Answer*:—"Go to your bed, and there you will find it." The joke seems to lie in the ambiguity of the expression: as it is not the bed, but the head, which is raised higher, when removed from the bed.

10. No class of popular literature was so general a favourite among the Anglo-Saxons as enigmas and rid-

* Alcuini Opera, tom. ii. p. 352.

dles, and they form an important part of the literary remains of our forefathers. Collections of Anglo-Latin Ænigmata, such as those of Aldhelm, were composed at a very early period. They were imitations of a still older Latin tract of this description, which was also popular among the Anglo-Saxons, under the title of *Symposii Ænigmata*, and which has been frequently printed; but whether this title implies that it was written by a person named Symposius, or whether it only means that they are *symposiaca ænigmata*, or, as we might say, 'nuts to crack over our wine,' is a question among the learned*; though the introductory lines would lead us to conclude that they were written with a view to this latter object. They have sometimes been attributed, but apparently without any good reason, to Lactantius. The riddles in this collection are expressed in triplets; they are often so contrived as to convey information under the cloak of amusement, and they sometimes present us with an elegant sentiment or a pretty idea. The subject of the following is a ship:—

> Longa feror velox formosæ filia silvæ,
> Innumera pariter comitum stipante caterva;
> Curro vias multas vestigia nulla relinquens.

The idea contained in the following is not new:—

> Est nova nostrarum cunctis captura ferarum,
> Ut siquid capias et tu tibi ferre recuses,
> Et quod non capias tecum tamen ipse reportas.

The subject of the next is a violet. In the second line

* The MS. Reg. 12 C. XXIII. contains early copies of the Ænigmata of Aldhelm, Symposius, and Tahtwin, and another collection under the name of Eusebius. Two early but imperfect copies of the Ænigmata Symposii are also preserved in MS. Reg. 15 B. XIX., and another more modern in MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. XXIII.

there seems to be a pun in the word *spiritus* which has not the odour of great antiquity about it.

> Magna quidem non sum, sed inest mihi maxima virtus;
> Spiritus est magnus, quamvis sim corpore parvo;
> Nec mihi germen habet noxam, nec culpa ruborem.

Some of these enigmas are curious as illustrating incidents of private life. The subject of the following, which bears a different title in different manuscripts, is certainly some kind of liquor composed of three principal ingredients: according to the gloss in the margin of the oldest manuscript, these were honey, wine, and pepper.

> Tres olim fuimus qui nomine jungimur uno,
> Ex tribus est unus, tres et miscentur in uno;
> Quisque bonus per se, melior qui continet omnes.

11. Aldhelm confesses that he was but an imitator of Symposius; but his ænigmata are deficient in that simplicity of sentiment and expression, which he found in his models. There needs no greater proof, how complicated and far-fetched they are, than the immense number of glossarial explanations with which they are accompanied in the MS. preserved in the British Museum. The following, perhaps, possesses as much simplicity as any we could select, but the last line is a remarkable specimen of that sinking in poetry of which its writer has often cause to plead guilty. Its subject is the Wind.

> Cernere me nulli possunt nec prendere palmis,
> Argutum vocis crepitum cito pando per orbem,
> Viribus horrisonis valeo confringere quercus,
> Nam superos ego pulso polos, et rura peragro.

The next is so peculiarly literary, that, although it needs some explanation, we can hardly pass it over. Its subject is the alphabet: it will perhaps be enough to say that in the third line *ferro* is explained in the gloss by *stilo graphico*, that the *terni fratres* are the three fingers which

hold the pen, and the *incerta mater* the pen itself, "it being uncertain whether this were a crow or goose quill, or a reed."*

Nos denæ et septem genitæ sine voce sorores,
Sex alias nothas non dicimus adnumerandas,
Nascimur ex ferro rursus ferro moribundæ,
Necnon et volucris penna volitantis ad æthram:
Terni nos fratres incerta matre crearunt;
Qui cupit instanter sitiens audire, docemus,
Tum cito prompta damus rogitanti verba silenter.

12. But by far the most curious and interesting collection of early enigmas that exists, is the large one in Anglo-Saxon verse, which occupies a considerable portion of the Exeter manuscript. From their intentional obscurity, and from the uncommon words with which they abound, many of these riddles are at present altogether unintelligible; but where they can be translated with any certainty, they are by no means devoid either of beauty or interest. The following, for example, seems to give us the first traces of that doughty hero, John Barleycorn, so famous in the days of ballad-singing.†

Biþ foldan dæl	A part of the earth is
fægre ge-gierwed,	prepared beautifully,
mid þy heardestan,	with the hardest,
and mid þy scearpestan,	and with the sharpest,
and mid þy grymmestan	and with the grimmest
gumena gestreona,	of the productions of men,
corfen sworfen,	cut and ......,
cyrred þyrred,	turned and dried,
bunden wunden,	bound and twisted,

* i. ignoramus utrum cum penna corvina, vel anserina, sive calamo, perscriptæ simus. Glossa, in MS. Reg. 12, C. xxiii.

† This riddle affords us an example how certain ideas run through the popular literature of different nations at all periods. M. Jubinal, in his Nouveau Recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux, etc. (vol. i. 8vo. Paris, 1839), p. 251, has printed an early French fabliau, "Le Martyre de Saint Baccus," where the god of the vine takes the place of Sir John Barleycorn, just as the juice of the grape in the country where it was composed occupies the place of the liquor of which the English hero was a personification.

blæced wæced,	bleached and awakened,
frætwed geatwed,	ornamented and poured out,
feorran læded	carried afar
to durum dryhta,	to the doors of people,
dream bið in innan	it is joy in the inside
cwicra wihta,	of living creatures,
clengeð lengeð,	it knocks and slights
þara þe ær lifgende	those, of whom before while alive
longe hwile	a long while
wilna bruceð,	it obeys the will,
and no wið-spriceð,	and expostulateth not,
and þonne æfter deaþe	and then after death
deman on-ginneð,	it takes upon it to judge,
meldan mislice.	to talk variously.
Micel is to hycganne	It is greatly to seek
wis-fæstum menn	by the wisest man,
hwæt seo wiht ys.	what this creature is.
(*Exet. MS. fol.* 107, v°.)*	

The subject of another seems to be the Aurelia of the butterfly, and its transformations; by which it would appear that our forefathers were at times diligent observers of nature—

Ic seah turf tredan,	I saw tread over the turf
x. wæron ealra,	ten in all,

* This riddle is curious as exhibiting a repetition of rhiming words, like those which have been attempted by some of the lighter poets of the present day. Single lines of this kind are not uncommon scattered over the Anglo-Saxon poetry of the best age, as "wíde and síde," (*wide and broad*) in Beowulf and Cædmon; "blowan and growan," (to blossom and to grow) in the Ex. MS. fol. 109, r°; &c. We find sometimes three such rhyming words, as "flód blód ge-wód" (blood pervaded the flood), Cædm. p. 207. In the Exeter MS. there is one whole poem (which was published by Conybeare), written entirely in rhymes of the most fantastic description, as, for instance,

flah-mah fliteð,
flan-mon hwiteð,
burg-sorg biteð,
bald-ald þwiteð,
wræc-fæc wriþeð,
wráþ-áð smiteð, &c.

The whole of these verses are extremely obscure and difficult to understand, a proof that rhime was a great trial of the ingenuity of the writer, and by no means congenial to the language.

vi. ge-broþor,	six brothers,
and hera sweoster mid,	and their sisters with them,
hæfdon feorg cwico ;	they had a living soul ;
fell hongedon	they hanged their skins,
sweotol and ge-syne	openly and manifestly
on seles wæge,	on the wall of the hall,
anra gehwylces	to any one of them all
ne wæs hyra ængum þy wyrs,	it was none the worse,
ne side þy sarra,	nor his side the sorer,
þeah hy swa sceoldon,	although they should thus,
reafe bi-rofene,	bereaved of covering,
rodra weardes	[and] awakened by the might
meahtum a-weahte,	of the guardian of the skies,
muþum slitan	bite with their mouths
haswe blede ;	the rough leaves ;
hrægl bið ge-niwad,	clothing is renewed
þam þe ær forð-cymene	to those who before coming forth
frætwe leton	let their ornaments
licgan on laste	lie in their track,
ge-witan lond tredan.	to depart over the earth.
(Ex. MS. fol. 104, r°.*)*	

The Anglo-Saxons were especially partial to riddles founded on Scripture, thinking, perhaps, that they exhibited in solving them their acquaintance with the sacred volume. The subject of the following must be the patriarch Lot and his two daughters and their two sons.—

Wær sæt æt wine,	There sat a man at his wine,
mid his wifum twam,	with his two wives,
and his twegen suno,	and his two sons,
and his twa dohtor,	and his two daughters,
swase ge-sweostor	own sisters,
and hyre suno twegen,	and their two sons,
freolico frum-bearn ;	comely first-born children ;
fæder wæs þær-inne	the father was there
þara æþelinga	of each one
æghwæðres,	of the noble ones,
mid eam and nefa :	with the uncle and the nephew :
ealra wæron fife	there were five in all
eorla and idesa	men and women
in-sittendra.	sitting there.
(Ex. MS. fol. 112, v°.*)*	

Of the next, it is not so easy to give a probable solution—

Ic eom wunder-licu wiht,	I am a wonderful creature,
ne mæg word sprecan,	I may not speak a word,
mældan for monnum,	nor converse before men,
þeah ic muþ hæbbe,	though I have a mouth,
wide wombe:	with a spacious belly:
ic wæs on ceole,	I was in a ship,
and mines cnosles ma.	with more of my race.
(*Ex. MS. fol.* 105, r°.)	

§ VI. *The Higher Branches of Science.*

1. It has been already observed that science, as cultivated by the Anglo-Saxons, was almost entirely founded upon older foreign authorities. One of the most popular of these authorities was Isidore, a Spanish Christian, who lived at the beginning of the seventh century, and who published a manual of science under the title of *De Naturis Rerum*, as well as a larger work entitled *Etymologiæ*, or *Origines*, which is a kind of nomenclature, accompanied with definitions, of nearly every thing that existed, from the highest attributes of the Deity, through all the different regions of science and art, down to the most insignificant of children's games. In the higher branches of science, the Saxons followed principally those writers of the time of the Roman Empire, who were then peculiarly styled "the Philosophers;" such, for example, as Macrobius and Apuleius. Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon scholars of that and the following age, quote frequently such writers as Dionysius Exiguus, and Victor Aquitanus. The popularity of certain treatises appears, in some cases, to have arisen from their accidental introduction into England at an early period. This, perhaps, was the case with Cicero's translation of Aratus, and the prose *Astronomica* of Hyginus which accompanies it; in the Harleian library,* are preserved a few leaves of what may have

* MS. Harl. No. 647. An account of this MS. was contributed to the

been the very copy of this work that was first brought into our island; for it seems to have been written in the seventh, or early in the eighth century; the pictures bear every mark of having been painted by a foreign artist, and there can be little doubt that it was the prototype of the other manuscripts of the same book which were written in England in the ninth and tenth centuries, although neither in the text nor drawings are they absolutely literal copies.* Aratus, in Cicero's Latin version, and Hyginus, were the chief authorities of the Anglo-Saxons, not only for the forms and positions of the Constellations, but also for the details of Grecian and Roman mythology, with which their names were so closely connected. The scientific writings of Boethius do not appear to have been much read till the latter end of the Anglo-Saxon period.

2. Geometry is found in the Anglo-Saxon lists of sciences; but to what extent, or in what form it was studied, we have no very certain indications. Tradition, in after-times, gave to the reign of King Athelstan the honour of the first introduction of Euclid's Elements,† although we are not acquainted with any English manuscript of that work which belongs to an earlier date than the twelfth century, when it was translated into Latin by Athelard of Bath. It seems probable, indeed, that the Anglo-Saxons, when they spoke of geometry, understood nothing more than simple mensuration; and we have no reason for believing that they had any acquaintance with mathematics as a pure and abstract science. The

24th vol. of the Archæologia by Mr. Ottley, who, by a series of inconclusive arguments, endeavoured to show that it is of the second or third century.

* MS. Harl. No. 2506, probably of the beginning of the ninth century, and MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. v. of the tenth century. The latter is one of the most interesting volumes for the illustration of the history of Anglo-Saxon science, that exists.

† See Rara Mathematica (edited by Mr. Halliwell), p. 56.

great dissensions about the true time of celebrating Easter, which had been felt so severely by the Anglo-Saxon church, had given a peculiar turn to numerical calculations. The object which many of the early Anglo-Saxon scholars had chiefly in view in their visits to Rome, was not more to obtain a knowledge of the arguments by which the Romish church there defended its doctrine on this subject, than to learn the calculations on which its variations depended; and on their return, they made a powerful use of both in their controversies with the partizans of the contrary system. These calculations were long afterwards the business of the arithmeticians (rym-cræftige),* and those who were skilful in "circle-craft" (on circule-cræfte);† and the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of all periods are filled with tracts and tables connected with this all-engrossing subject, under the title of *De Computo*, or *De Computo Ecclesiastico*.

3. The Anglo-Saxons rather took notice of, than observed, the various phenomena of the heavens. They were interested in them simply so far as they were supposed to influence the seasons which were favourable or otherwise to the husbandman or the sailor; or with an eye to their more mystical connexion with the destinies of individuals or of kingdoms. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts abound in tables of prognostications of the weather, and of the good or bad influence of the lunar and solar changes. Although sea-faring men were the chief *observers*,‡ yet even they confided so little in the certainty of such prognostications, that, rather than trust to them,

* Metrical Menology, v. 89, ed. Fox. † Ib. v. 132.

‡ The metrical translator of Boethius quotes the authority of sailors even for the names of the planets:—

þone Saturnus	Which Saturn
sund-buenda	the sea-farers
hatað.	call.

they preferred choosing the two calmest months of the year, June and July, called, on that account, the earlier and later sailing-months (liðe-monað), for their longer voyages. Some of the best scholars not only suspected that there were errors in the *authorised* astronomical calculations, but were extremely puzzled by accidental observations, which disagreed with the statements of the books they followed. In the year 798, considerable sensation was caused upon the continent by the planet Mars, which, under certain circumstances, had been found to remain beneath the horizon much longer than it should have done, according to "the books of the philosophers." In answer to a letter from Charlemagne, Alcuin, after entering at some length into the subject, goes on to observe: — "However, what has now happened to the planet Mars alone, the same thing is frequently observed in these parts with respect to all the five planets, namely, that they remain longer under the horizon than is stated in the books of the ancients which are our guides. And perhaps the rising and setting of the stars, as observed by us who dwell in these northern parts, vary from the observations of those who live in the eastern and southern parts of the world, where chiefly flourished the 'Masters' who set forth for us the laws and courses of the heaven and of the planets. For many things are changed, as your own wisdom knows perfectly well, by diversity of place."* Alcuin's modern editor conjectures, from this passage, that

* Quod vero de sola Martis stella modo evenit, hoc et de omnibus quinque stellis errantibus in his partibus sæpius solet evenire, ut diutius abscondantur quam regularis pagina veterum decantat. Et forte non æqualiter, nobis in his partibus Borealibus conversantibus, ortus et occasus siderum evenit, sicut illis, qui in Orientalibus vel Meridianis partibus mundi morantur, ubi maxime fuere Magistri qui nobis rationes et cursus cœli et stellarum ediderunt. Nam multa ex locorum diversitate, sicut vestra optime novit sapientia, immutantur. Alcuin. Epist. ad domnum regem, p. 58. Operum tom. I.

the Anglo-Saxon scholar had made such great advances in the study of science as already to suspect the true form of the earth. It is certain that observations made systematically with moderately good instruments, in pursuance of the train of reasoning which Alcuin here states, would have led to its discovery. The passage shows, at all events, that the wisest of the Anglo-Saxons were conscious of the imperfections of the system they were pursuing.

4. To some scholar of the tenth century, we owe a comprehensive treatise in the Anglo-Saxon language on the principal astronomical phenomena, designedly explained in a simple manner, and calculated for the level of ordinary capacities. From the numerous copies which still remain of this work, we may conclude that it was extremely popular in its day.* Yet it has hitherto been scarcely noticed by modern scholars, and indeed it is not unfrequently found buried among collections on the computus, so as very easily to escape attention. This tract gives us a very fair, and on the whole a very favourable, view of the popular science of the period when, among the Anglo-Saxons, knowledge was in such treatises diffused among the many, instead of being restricted in a learned language to the few. The writer of this book begins by stating that night is the effect of the earth's shadow, when the earth itself is between us and the sun.†

* Our extracts are taken from a copy in MS. Cotton. Titus D. XXVII. which seems to have been written for the use of *nuns*. There are three or four other copies in the British Museum (one in Tiber. B. V, quoted above), besides what are to be found at Oxford and Cambridge. We believe this tract will be printed, a thing certainly much to be desired, in an appendix to a History of the Mathematics in England during the middle ages, by J. O. Halliwell, Esq.

† Ure eorðlice niht soðlice cymð þurh þære eorðan sceade, þonne seo sunne gæð on æ'fnunge under þissere eorðan; þonne bið þære eorðan brádnys betwux ús and þæra sunnan, þæt we hyre leoman lihtinge nabbað oððæt heo eft on oðerne ende up-astíhð. MS. Cott. Titus, D. XXVII. fol. 30, v°. *Our earthly night truly comes by the earth's shadow when the sun goes in the*

After explaining the moon's changes, as a matter arising naturally out of the former subject, he goes on to tell us how, from sunset to sunrise, the night is divided into seven parts, namely—1, twilight, or "evening's gloaming;" 2, evening; 3, the hour of silence, when everything goes to rest (*conticinium*); 4, midnight; 5, cock crowing; 6, dawn; 7, daybreak, or the period which intervenes between dawn and sunrise.* The account of the year, and its seasons, divisions, and duration, leads to the definition of the lunar, as contradistinguished from the solar year, and this affords us a remarkable specimen of the popular mode of explaining science which was used by our forefathers: "Now," says the writer, "you may understand that the man who goes round one house makes a lesser course than he who goes round the whole town; and so the moon has his course to run sooner on the lesser circuit than the sun has on the greater; this is the moon's year."†

evening under this earth; then is the earth's broadness between us and the sun, so that we have not the illumination of her shine until she again rises up at the other end. As in the other Germanic tongues, the sun is feminine, and the moon masculine, in Anglo-Saxon and early English.

* Seo niht hæfð seofon dælas, fram þære sunnan setlunge oð hyre upgang: án þæra dæla is *crepusculum*, þæt is æfen-glóma; oðer is *vesperum*, þæt is æfen, þonne se æfen-steorra betwux repsunge æt-eowað; þridde is *conticinium*, þonne ealle þing suwiað on heora reste; feorða is *intempestum*, þæt is mid-niht; fifta is *gallicinium*, þæt is han-cred; syxta is *matutinum*, oððe *aurora*, þæt is dæg-red; seofoða is *diluculum*, þæt is ærne merien, betwux þam dæg-rede and sunnan up-gange. *Ib.* fol. 32, v°. *The night has seven parts, from the sun's setting to her upgoing: one of these parts is* crepusculum, *that is even's gloaming: the second is* vesperum, *that is even, when the even star shows itself in the interval between light and dark: the third is* conticinium, *when all things are silent in their rest; the fourth is* intempestum, *that is midnight; the fifth is* gallicinium, *that is cock-crowing; the sixth is* matutinum, *or* aurora, *that is dawn; the seventh is* diluculum, *that is early morning, between dawn and the sun's upgoing.*

† Nu miht þu understándan, þæt læssan ymbe-gang hæfð se mann ðe gæð onbuton án hus, þonne se ðe ealle þa burh be-gæð; swa eac se mona hæfð

5. The world, in the larger sense of the word (*mundus*, *κόσμος*), was designated among the Anglo-Saxons by a name borrowed from their old mythological ideas, *middan-geard*, or the middle yard or region, which was afterwards gradually corrupted into the old English word "middle-earth." "All that is within the firmament," says the tract just mentioned, "is called middan-geard, or the world. The firmament is the ethereal heaven, adorned with many stars; the heaven, and sea, and earth, are called the world. The firmament is perpetually turning round about us, under this earth and above, and there is an incalculable space between it and the earth. Four-and-twenty hours have passed, that is one day and one night, before it is once turned round, and all the stars which are fixed in it turn round with it. The earth stands in the centre, by God's power so fixed, that it never swerves either higher or lower than the Almighty Creator, who holds all things without labour, established it. Every sea, although it be deep, has its bottom on the earth, and the earth supports all seas, and the ocean, and all fountains and rivers run through it; as the veins lie in a man's body, so lie the veins of water throughout the earth."*

his ryne hraðor aúrnen on þam læssan ymb-hwyrfte, þonne seo sunne hæbbe on þam máran; þis is þæs mónan geár. *Ib.* fol. 35, r°.

* *Ib.* fol. 37, v°. *De mundo.* Middan-geard is ge-haten eall þæt binnan þam *firmamentum* is. *Firmamentum* is þeos roderlice heofen, mid manegum steorrum amét; seo heofen, and sæ', and eorðe, synd ge-hatene middan-geard. Seo *firmamentum* tyrnð symle on-butan ús under þissere eorðan and bufon, ac þær is ún-ge-rím fæc betwux hire and þære eorðan; feower and twentig tida beoð agáne, þæt is án dæg and án niht, ær þam þe heo beo æne ymb-tyrnd, and ealle þa steorran þe hyre on fæste synd, túrniað on-butan mid hyre. Seo oðer stent on æle-middan, þurh Godes mihte swa ge-fæstnod, þæt heo næfre ne by'hð ufor ne neoðor, þonne se ælmihtiga scyppend þe ealle þing hylt buton ge-swínce hi ge-staðelode. Ælc sæ', þeah þe heo deóp sy, hæfð grúnd on þære eorðan, and seo eorðe abyrð ealle sæ', and þone garsecg, and ealle wyll-springas and eán þurh hyre yrnað; swa swa æddran licgað on þæs mannes lichaman, swa licgað þa wæter-æddran geond þas eorðan; næfð naðor ne sæ' ne eá nænne stede buton on eorðan.

The north and south stars, as we are told in another place, of which the latter is never seen by men, are fixed, and are the poles of the axis on which the firmament turns. Falling stars are igneous sparks thrown from the constellations, like sparks that fly from coals in the fire.* The earth itself "resembles a pine-nut, and the sun glides about it, by God's ordinance, and on the end where it shines it is day by means of the sun's light, whilst the end which it leaves is covered with darkness until it return again."† The writer of this treatise, in one or two instances, mentions and confutes what appeared then to the learned to be the popular errors of their age, such as that of "some unlearned priests" who said that leap-year had been caused by Joshua when he made the sun stand still.‡ The priests, it will be observed, are frequently the butt of the sneers of the scholars in the tenth century.

6. Such were the notions inculcated by the popular scientific books among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, many of them erroneous in themselves, but at the same time consonant with the doctrines of the greatest scholars who had preceded, or who were contemporary. The range, however, of these books must have been narrow, in comparison with the mass of the people who were uninstructed. The ideas adopted by the latter were far more erroneous, and were often the mere legends of the popular mythology, as we see by such writings as the dialogues of Saturn and Salomon, and Adrian and Rithæus, which were probably

* *Ib.* fol. 45.

† Seo eorðe stent on ge-licnesse anre pinn-hnyte, and seo sunne glít onbúton be Godes ge-setnysse, and on þone ende þe heo scinð is dæg þurh hyre lihtinge, and se ende þe heo forlæ't bið mid þeostrum ofer-þeaht, oððæt heo eft þyder ge-néahlæce. *Ib.* fol. 39, v°.

‡ *Ib.* fol. 41, r°.

intended for recitation among the common people. In the latter of these dialogues, to the question "how large is the sun?" the reply is, "larger than the earth," and this is deduced from the circumstance that it shines on all parts of the earth. The spherical form of our planet was universally acknowledged, although it was erroneously placed in the centre of the system. An early Latin writer compares the universe to an egg, in which the earth is the yolk, with the sea surrounding it resembling the white of the egg, while the firmament, supposed to be inclosed in fire, is the shell.* It is doubtful, however, if it were not the most common impression that this round mass on which we live swam in the water, that the part we inhabit and know was a small portion of the surface which stood above the waves, and that the sun dived into the ocean each evening, and arose out of it on the following morn.

7. The ideas which the Anglo-Saxons held with regard to that portion of the earth, which was then believed to be alone habitable, were derived indirectly or immediately from the writings of the Ancients; and they were on the whole more correct than might be expected. Their maps were undoubtedly made after Roman models. A map of the tenth century, in the British Museum, accompanies the Periegesis of Priscian,† which, with the slight sketch given by Orosius, and the work of Solinus, were the chief autho-

* Est ergo terra elementum in medio mundi positum, et ideo infimum. In omni enim spherico solum medium est infimum. Mundus nempe ad similitudinem ovi dispositus est. Namque terra est in medio ut meditullium in ovo; circa hanc est aqua, ut circa meditullium albumen; circa aqua[m] est aer, ut pannid'es *(sic)* continens albumen; extra vero est ignis cætera concludens, admodum testæ ovi. MS. Burney, No. 216, fol. 99, r°. of the twelfth century. In an English poem of the thirteenth century, in MS. Harl. 2277, fol. 133, we have the following definition of the earth,—

"Urthe is amidde the see, a lute *(little)* bal and round."

† MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. v. fol. 58, v°.

rities in geography. Books of cosmography were sought eagerly at an early period,* and we need not be surprised if their popularity depended most frequently on the number of wonderful relations which they contained. The stories of this kind given by Pliny the Elder, and reproduced by Solinus, were the foundation of all the extravagant fables concerning the wonders of distant lands which were so widely prevalent during the Middle Ages; but the vague manner in which these writers spoke of them was not enough for the curiosity of the multitude, and the outline they furnished was soon filled up in spurious works, like the famous letter of Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle, in which the conqueror of the East describes minutely all the monsters of India. This tract must have been written at an early period, for we find an Anglo-Saxon translation of it, with some other pieces of a similar kind, in manuscripts of the tenth century.†

8. We find the Anglo-Saxons at an early period distinguished by the same spirit of adventure, which has been so active and fruitful among their descendants. They were anxious to explore the distant countries, whose existence had been made known to them by the books which the missionaries imported. Even so early as the seventh century they were in the habit of going to Rome by sea, a voyage in which the pilgrims necessarily incurred many

* Bonifac. Epist. p. 111. Some person writes to Bishop Lulla,—Cæterum libri cosmographicorum necdum nobis ad manum venerunt: nec alia apud nos exemplaria, nisi picturis et litteris permolesta. The latter part of the sentence is curious, though at present not quite clear.

† The Anglo-Saxon version of Aristotle's letter is found in MS. Cotton. Vitell. A. xv. along with Beowulf and Judith. It is preceded by an Anglo-Saxon tract on the wonders of the East, which occurs again in Anglo-Saxon and Latin in MS. Cott. Tiberius B. v.; in both places accompanied by drawings of a very extraordinary kind, and, in the latter MS. many of them executed in a style much superior to the generality of Anglo-Saxon pictures.

perils. At the end of this century, a Frankish bishop named Arculf, who was returning from the Holy Land, and had visited Constantinople, Damascus, and Alexandria in Egypt, as well as many of the islands of the Mediterranean, was thrown by bad weather on the western coasts of England, where he became acquainted with the abbot Adamnan. The latter carefully stored up the information which the traveller communicated to him, and afterwards committed it to writing in a treatise which is still preserved. It is probable, indeed, from many circumstances, that the Anglo-Saxons themselves made frequent visits, not only to Italy, but also to the East. King Alfred, who in this, as in other things, merited well the character given him by historians of being "a diligent investigator of unknown things" (ignotarum rerum investigationi solerter se jungebat), sent Sighelm, bishop of Sherburn, in 883, to India to visit the scene of the labours of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; and Sighelm not only reached in safety this distant land, but he brought back with him many of its productions, and particularly some gems and relics which were still preserved in his church in the time of William of Malmsbury.* The present day cannot furnish a more intelligent account of a voyage of discovery, than that taken down by Alfred from the mouths of Ohthere and Wulfstan, one of whom had sailed to the North Cape, and the other along the northern shores of the Baltic, and which that monarch has inserted in his own version of Orosius. The map of the tenth century, mentioned above, is far more correct than the generality of maps which we find in old manuscripts at a later period; its chief inaccuracy lies in the distorted shape given to Africa, which is here a long narrow slip of

* See the Saxon Chronicle, and W. Malmsb. p. 248.

land running out from east to west; but the coasts of India and Eastern Asia are not ill defined, there are few of the fabulous indications which appear afterwards in this part of the world, and Paradise does not occupy the place of the isles of Japan, as it did after the voyage of St. Brandan became popular in the twelfth century.

§ VII. *The Natural Sciences—Medicine.*

1. The systematical study of natural history, in any of its branches, has never been cultivated among a people who had not reached a high state of civilization. Many of the operations of nature are indeed of that wonderful character, that they cannot fail to attract at all times the attention of the observer; and although these insulated observations were often the cause of the wildest errors among the philosophers of a comparatively barbarous age, yet they contained the germs of modern science. The marvellous transformations which accompanied the change of the creeping worm into the elegant butterfly, the singular habits of some animals, and the instincts of others, were the groundwork of many a superstitious fable. Even the fossil remains of a former world did not pass unnoticed; in old writers, such for example as William of Newbury in the twelfth century, we find many tales of animals imbedded in rocks, accidentally released from their imprisonment, which were undoubtedly founded upon discoveries of fossils; and these remains perhaps also gave rise to the legends of dragons which brooded in caves over hidden treasures, and of other animals no less extraordinary and fearful than the forms which are presented to us by the researches of modern geologists. The foreign books on natural history, which the Anglo-Saxons seem to have possessed, were by no means calculated to give them any very enlightened notions on the subject, for

they consisted chiefly of fabulous narratives of the imaginary monsters which were supposed to live under the burning skies of India and Africa, or of those moralizations of the ordinary instincts of some animals which a little later became more universally popular under the title of *Bestiaries*.

2. The learning of the ancients was communicated to the people of the middle ages by two distinct roads. First, it was introduced along with the ancient literature, when those who received it, only just emerging from the depths of ignorance, were least capable of cultivating it with advantage, and when, from their preconceived ideas and various other causes, it was much disfigured, and very partially developed. Secondly, after having found a more favourable soil among the Arabians in the east, whose vast conquests and more enlarged field of scientific observation were naturally attended with a proportionate intellectual developement, it became the ground-work of a school which, at a later period, was carried directly to the West, and gradually took the place of the barbarous half-Romanized school which had there existed—we can hardly say flourished—through several ages. This was more particularly the case with the medical and chemical sciences, which, less than any others, the Anglo-Saxons were capable of receiving from their instructors. Before the influence of the Arabian school was felt, even the elixir and the philosopher's stone were not thought of, and the medical knowledge of our early forefathers was confined within very narrow limits. In the last struggles of the Roman power, and during the inroads of the barbarous tribes before whom it fell, all the ancient practical knowledge of medicine and surgery must have disappeared. The books which remained were almost useless, not only from this want of practical skill, but also from the impos-

sibility of procuring most of the articles which were enumerated in them, among people who had no certain commercial intercourse with distant parts of the world. This was felt strongly among the Anglo-Saxons; and one of Boniface's correspondents, while earnestly desiring to be remembered, in case that adventurous missionary should meet with any medical books which were not known in England, complains at the same time of the difficulty of using them on account of the foreign ingredients which those works prescribed.* The consequence of this was, that the Anglo-Saxons either returned to the old superstitious practices and receipts which had been used before their conversion to Christianity, or submitted to the authority of certain spurious books which were equally absurd and superstitious, and which appear to have been made with the object of remedying the difficulties above-mentioned. The book which seems to have exerted the greatest influence on the science of medicine among the Anglo-Saxons, was a Latin herbal published under the name of Apuleius, and containing, as it was pretended, the doctrines taught to Achilles by Chiron the centaur. This spurious treatise, with a tract attributed to Antonius Musa on the virtues of the herb betony, and another bearing the title of *Medicina Animalium*, and the name of Sextus Philosophus,† formed, in an Anglo-Saxon translation, of which several copies are still extant, the popular text-book among the old physicians.‡ We may cite, as a fair speci-

* Nec non et si quos sæcularis scientiæ libros nobis ignotos adepturi sitis, ut sunt de medicinalibus, quorum copia est aliqua apud nos, sed tamen segmenta ultra marina, quæ in eis scripta comperimus, ignota nobis sunt et difficilia ad adipiscendum. Bonif. Epist. p. 102.

† These three treatises in Latin were edited at Ravensburg, in 1539, by Gabriel Humelberg, who even at this recent period believed most religiously in all the absurdities they contain.

‡ Two MSS. of this Anglo-Saxon herbal, both of the tenth century, are

men of the character of this herbal, the account of the herb betony, which is almost a literal version from Antonius Musa. This plant, we are told, should be gathered in the month of August; no *iron* was to be used in digging it up; and, when duly prepared, it was not only a powerful antidote against many diseases, but also a sure and efficient defence against spectres, fearful sights, and dreams.*

3. In addition to this herbal, we find amongst Anglo-Saxon manuscripts several medical works and collections of receipts, which are interesting to us not only for the light they throw upon the early history of medicine in our island, but also because they make us acquainted with the classes of diseases chiefly prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons, and thus illustrate collaterally the state of society in general. This class of works, indeed, forms rather an important part of the remains of the literature of these

found in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vitellius, C. III. and MS. Harl. No. 585. Another of the same age is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Harleian MS. No. 6258, B. contains a copy of the same work, somewhat enlarged, in semi-Saxon, of about the end of the twelfth century. The Cottonian MS. and the older Harleian MS. are full of drawings of plants, some of them not ill executed.

* Ðeos wyrt þe man *betonican* nemneð, heo biþ cenned on mædum, and on clænum dun-landum, and on ge-friþedum stowum. Seo ðeah gehwæþer ge þæs mannes sawle ge his lichoman; hio hyne scyldeþ wið unhirum nihtgendum and wið egeslicum ge-sihðum and swefnum. And seo wyrt byþ swyþe haligu; and þus þu hi scealt niman, on Agustes monðe, butan iserne; and þonne þu hi ge-numene hæbbe, ahryse þa moldan óf, þæt hyre nan-wiht on ne clyfie, and þonne drig hi on sceade swyþe þearle, and mid wyrttruman mid ealle ge-wyrt to duste, bruc hyre þonne, and hyre byrig, þonne þu beþurfe. MS. Cotton. Vitell. C. III. fol. 16, r°. *This plant, which they call betony, it grows in meadows, and on clean hill-lands, and in inclosed places. It is profitable both to man's soul and to his body; it shields him against nightly monsters, and against fearful visions and dreams. And the plant is very holy; and thus thou shalt take it, in the month of August, without iron; and when thou hast taken it, shake the mould off, so that none adhere to it, and then dry it in the shade very much, and with the root and all do it to powder, use it then, and taste it, when thou hast need.*

early ages, and deserves more attention than has been hitherto bestowed upon it. Among the manuscripts in the British Museum which are commonly quoted as the Royal Manuscripts, and which were formerly kept at St. James's Palace, we find a very curious book on medicine, splendidly written in the Anglo-Saxon language, apparently of the earlier part of the tenth century, and probably at that time the property of a physician of some eminence.* This book is divided into two parts, the first relating chiefly to the treatment of external diseases, and the second to inward diseases, and those of a more complicated nature. A large proportion of the cases here provided against, are outward wounds, arising sometimes from accident, but more frequently from personal violence, the prevalence of which we may assume from the minutely detailed penalties imposed upon it by the Anglo-Saxon laws. The numerous receipts against the bites of adders and other venomous reptiles, show that these latter were infinitely more numerous, and probably more various, than they are at present, and aid us in conceiving the picture which our island then presented to the eye, thinly inhabited, ill-cultivated, and covered with marshes, woods, and wilds. We find also in the work above mentioned many receipts against the effects of poison; and (which appears singular enough) there are more provisions against diseases of the eye than against any other complaint. It is perhaps in some measure to the prevalence of this latter class of diseases in former times, that we owe the preservation of the numerous superstitions connected with springs of water; and the peasantry in many parts of our island still use them, not on account of the purity of the water, but with a belief in some peculiar attributes of the well itself.

* MS. Reg. 12 D. xvii.

4. Although this treatise is not a herbal, still the ingredients mentioned are chiefly vegetables, though mixed up sometimes with other substances, such as ale and honey, of which latter commodity the consumption was very great among the Anglo-Saxons, and, less frequently, fat, oil, or wine. The powerful medicinal effects produced by vegetable mixtures, and the facility with which they were obtained, will easily explain the great reputation they enjoyed in an uncultivated age; but the real causes of diseases were little known, the connexion between the complaint and the remedy was seldom or very imperfectly understood, and the success of the latter must have been extremely problematical. The object generally aimed at seems to have been to produce a sudden and strong impression on the system, the effect of which must often have proved fatal. One of the receipts against the head-ache, given in this book, directs that a salve composed of rue and mustard-seed should be applied to the side of the head which was free from pain, evidently with the expectation of producing a sudden nervous re-action.* So again, for the cure of sore eyes, we are directed to make a paste of strawberry plants and *pepper*, which is to be diluted for use in sweet wine.† There are few diseases of which the history is so obscure as that of the small-pox. This obscurity arises partly

* Wiþ þon ilcan : ge-ním fæt-ful grenre rudan leafa, and senepes sædes cucler fulne, ge-gnid to-gædere, do æges þæt hwite to cucler fulne, þæt sio sealf sie þicce, smire mid feþere on þa healfe þe sar ne sie. MS. Reg. 12 D. xvii. fol. 7, v°.—*Against the same (disease) : take a vessel full of the leaves of green rue, and a spoonful of mustard seed, pound them together, add a spoonful of the white of an egg, that the salve may be thick, smear it with a feather on that side which is not sore.*

† þus món sceal eag-sealfe wyrcean : ge-ním streaw-berian wisan nioþo-wearde, and pipor, ge-cnuwa wel, do on claþ, be-bind fæste, lege on ge-swet wín, læt ge-dreopan on þa eagan ænne dropan. Ib. fol. 13, r°.—*Thus shall a man make eye-salve; take the lower parts of strawberry plants, and pepper, knead them well together, put them in a cloth, tie them up fast, lay them in sweet wine, let one drop fall on the eye.*

from the difficulty of identifying the disease under the names which seem to have been given to it at different times. In our own language it was formerly called simply the *pockes*, the plural form of a word which signified nothing more than *pustules*. In the Anglo-Saxon treatise of which we are now speaking, we find two or three receipts against the "pockes" (wiþ poccum), which is perhaps the same disease we now call small-pox, although, by the number and simple character of the prescriptions, it would appear either not to have been very prevalent, or else to have possessed a less dangerous character than that which it assumed in later times. On the appearance of the first symptoms of the disease, bleeding is ordered, and a bowl-full of melted butter is recommended to be taken inwardly; if the pustules be broken out, the physician is directed to pick them all out carefully with a thorn, and to pour a drop of wine or alder syrup in the place, which process was to prevent them from leaving any marks.* The terrible effects of hydrophobia seem not to have been much known at this time; two or three receipts are given against the bite of mad dogs, but they are all very simple, the most remarkable being plasters of boiled onions, ashes, fat, and honey, or of plantain, mulberries, and fat, to be applied to the wound.†

* Wiþ poccum: swiðe sceal món blod lǽtan, and drincan amylte buteran bollan fulne; gif hie ut-slean, ǽlcne man sceall aweg adelfan mid þorne, and þonne win oððe alor-drenc drype on innan, þonne ne beoð hy ge-syne. Ib. fol. 40, r°.—*Against pockes: very much shall one let blood, and drink a bowl-ful of melted butter; if they strike out, one shall dig each away with a thorn, and then drop wine or alder-drink in, then they will not be seen.* This last observation (the anxiety to hinder marks from being left) seems to identify the disease.

† Wiþ wede-hundes slite . . . . . twa cipan oððe þreo, seoþ, ge-bræd on ahsan, meng wiþ rysle and hunige, lege on, . . . eft, ge-nim weg-brædan, moran, ge-cnu wiþ rysle, do on þæt dolh, þonne ascrypð hio þæt ater aweg. Ib. fol. 54, r°.—*Against the bite of a mad-dog: take two onions or three, boil them, spread them in ashes, mix them with fat and honey, lay it on. . .*

5. Surgical operations, among the Anglo-Saxons, were few and rude. They consisted chiefly in bleeding (the success of which was supposed to depend less on the condition of the patient, than on the choice of the proper time for its performance, according to certain calendars of good and evil days); the application of poultices to draw out humours and reduce inflammations; setting broken bones, and staunching wounds. Honey was the substance generally used for cleansing external wounds; before application, it was to be warmed at the fire, and mixed with salt.* Another operation, described in the Anglo-Saxon medical treatise, gives us no very favourable idea of surgical practice: "if a man have a limb cut off, be it finger, or foot, or hand, if the marrow be out, take sheep's marrow boiled, lay it to the other marrow, bind it very well at night."† Perhaps the most scientific prescription in the whole volume is a medicated bath, ordered to be used for the cure of a disease which was probably the dropsy; this bath was to consist of a strong decoction of various herbs, among which are enumerated wild marjoram, broom, ivy, mugwort, and henbane; while immersed in it, the patient was to drink a decoction of other herbs, among which we find the all-efficient herb betony, with centaury, agrimony, red-nettles, sage, herb Alexander, &c.; and the liquor in which these latter were

Again, take way-broad (plantain) and mulberries, knead them with fat, put this on the wound, then it drives away the venom.

* To wunde clæsnunge: ge-ním clæne hunig, ge-wyrme to fyre, ge-do þonne on clæne fæt, do sealt to, and hrere oþ þæt hit hæbbe briwes þicnesse, smire þa wunde mid, þonne fullað hio. *Ib.* fol. 34, v°.—*For cleansing of a wound: take clean honey, warm it at the fire, then put it in a clean vessel, add salt to it, and stir it till it has the thickness of pottage, smear the wound with it, then it cleanses it.*

† Gif men si lim óf aslegen, finger oððe fót oþþe hand: gif þæt mearh ute sie, ge-nim sceapes mearh ge-soden, lege on þæt oþer mearh, awriþ swiðe wel neahterne. *Ib.* fol. 36, r°.

to be boiled, was one that we should hardly expect to find mentioned at that time, namely, *Welsh ale.**

6. The Anglo-Saxon treatise in the Royal Library shows, in a very remarkable manner, that the practice of medicine, amongst our forefathers, as well as among the other branches of the great Teutonic race, was a strange mixture of science and superstition, even in the hands of its most skilful professors. The ingredients which the physician used, frequently owed their virtues to some accidental circumstance with which, in the minds of the people, they were connected; as in the case of one receipt in which those particular herbs only are declared to be efficient "which grow spontaneously, and are not planted by the hand of man."† Much of their efficiency also depended upon the day on which they were administered, or on which the patient fell ill, and this again was regulated by the changes of the moon. The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts contain many lists of the attributes of each day of the lunar month, as they were supposed to be good or evil for sickness and the various operations of life. For example, they inform us that "The first day of the moon is propitious for all kinds of work; he who falls ill on that day, will languish long, and suffer much; the infant

* Bæþ wiþ þam miclan lice: eolone, bróm, ifig, muc-wyrt, ælf-þone, beolone, cottuc, efelastan, wyl ón wætere swiþe, geót on bydene, and sitte ón. Drince þisne drenc wiþþon: betonican, curmille, hofe, agrimonia, spring-wyrt, reade netle, elehtre, salvie, singrene, alexandria, sie ge-worht óf Wiliscúm ealað, drince on þam baþe, and ne læte ón þone eþm. *Ib.* fol. 29, v°.—Welsh ale is mentioned at a still earlier date in the laws of Ine, § 70, and (A.D. 852) in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Wulfred scolde gife twa tunnan fulle hlutres alоð, and ten mittan Wælsces aloð—*Wulfred should give two tuns full of clear ale, and ten mittan or measures of Welsh ale.*

† éft wiþ þon ilean: ge-nim tun-cersan sio þe self weaxeð and món ne sæwð, do in þa nosu þæt se stæne mæge on þæt heafod and þæt seaw. MS. Reg. 12 D. xvii. fol. 8, v°.—*Again, against the same (i. e. a broken head): take of garden cress that which grows of itself, and man sows not, put it in the nose that the smell and the juice may go into the head.*

who is then born will live. The second is also a prosperous day, good for buying, selling, embarking on shipboard, beginning a journey, sowing, grafting, arranging a garden, ploughing land; theft committed on this day will be soon and easily detected; a person who falls sick will soon recover; the child born will grow fast, but will not live long. . . . . The fourth day of the moon is good for beginning works, as building mills and opening drains; the child born on this day will be a great politician. . . . . The sixth day of the moon is a favourable day for hunting. . . . . The eighth day is good for changing bees; but he who falls sick on this day will suffer a long illness, and will not recover. . . . . A child born on the tenth day of the moon will be a great traveller; and, if born on the twenty-first, he will become a bold robber."* These superstitious feelings were not always confined to the manner or time of treating diseases, but they also extended to the diseases themselves. The causes of many outward affections of the body were too apparent to be easily overlooked, but inward diseases often assumed a more mysterious character, which baffled the utmost skill of the physician. They were then believed to be caused immediately by evil beings, the elves, according to the creed of the people, or the demons, according to that of the monks; or else they were produced by the charm of the witch, or by the sinister influence of the evil eye.†

* MS. Cotton. Titus, D. xxviii. fol. 27, *etc.*

† Mugwort (*artemisia*) was believed to possess extraordinary virtues against such visitations. þonne hwa siðfæt onginnan wille, ðonne ge-nime he him on hand þas wyrte *artemesiam*, and hæbbe mid him, ðonne ne ongyt he na micel to ge-swynce þæs siðes; and eac heo afligð deoful-seocnyssa, and on þam huse þe he hy inne hæfð, heo forbyt yfele lacnunga, and eac heo awendeð yfelra manna eagan. MS. Cotton. Vitel. C. iii. fol. 21, v°. and MS. Harl. No. 585, fol. 18, v°.—*When any man will begin a journey, let him take in his hand the herb artemisia, and have it with him, then he will not be much fatigued in his journey; and also it drives away devil-sicknesses,*

Fevers, more particularly, were attributed to such causes, and this class of diseases, which occupies a considerable portion of the second book of the great Anglo-Saxon medical work, introduces us there to a numerous collection of charms and incantations, and to a list of diseases which received their names from the imaginary beings who were supposed to have sent them. In these cases, the physician trusted no longer to the simple virtues of his herbs; but he sought to drive away these unwelcome visitors by religious exorcisms; or to pacify them, and induce them to carry their visitations to some other object, by means of counter-charms, which were derived from a still more superstitious age. The latter object was generally effected by charming the disease into a stick, or a piece of wood, which was thrown *across a highway,* as an effectual separation from the patient, and there it waited to be communicated to the first person who picked up the stick: this process, still familiar to the peasantry in the less enlightened parts of England, was, among the Anglo-Saxons, an approved remedy in the hands of the professors of the healing art.* One example from the medical book we have so often quoted, will be sufficient to illustrate the character of the religious charms: it is a "drink" composed of herbs for

and in the house where it is kept, it hinders evil cures, and also it averts the eyes of evil men. So in the great medical book, Wiþ miclum gonge ofer land; þy læs he teorige, mucg-wyrt nime him on hand, oþþe do on his sco, þy læs he meþige, and þonne he niman wille, ær sunnan upgange cweþe þas word ærest, *Tellamte artemesia, ne lassus súm in via*, gesena hie þonne þu up teo. MS. Reg. 12 D. xvii. fol. 57, r°.—*Against a great journey over land: lest he become faint, let him take mugwort in his hand, or put it in his shoe lest he become weary, and when he will gather it, before sunrise, say these words first*—Tollam te, artemesia, ne lassus sim in via—*loudly, when thou pullest it up.*

* Wiþ þon gif hunta ge-bite mannan, þæt is swiþra, sleah þry scearpan neah from weardes, læt yrnan þæt blod ón grenne sticcan hæslenne. weorp þonne ofer weg aweg. þonne ne biþ nan yfel. MS. Reg. 12 D. xvii. fol. 43, v°.

a person labouring under a disease caused by evil spirits, and is to be administered in a *church bell*:—"Take thrift grass (?), yarrow, elehtre, betony, penny-grass, carruc, fane, fennel, church-wort, christmas-wort, lovage; make them into a potion with clear ale, sing seven masses over the plants daily, and add holy water, and drip the draught into every drink that he shall drink afterwards, and sing the psalm *Beati immaculati*, and *Exsurgat*, and *Salvum me fac, Deus*, and then let him drink the draught out of the church bell, and after he has drunk it, let the mass priest sing over him *Domine sancte pater omnipotens*."*

7. The subject of charms is intimately connected with the history of the Anglo-Saxon alphabet. It is well known that what we generally term Anglo-Saxon letters, with the exception of þ, *(th)*, ð, *(dh)*, and ƿ (*w*), are nothing more than the common Roman characters, as they were introduced by the missionaries, and used in the early manuscripts. Our ancestors, previous to their conversion, possessed an alphabet peculiar to themselves, the letters of which were in their own language designated by the name of *runes*, and which, before their literature was committed to writing, served all the purposes to which they were accustomed to apply them; for these were confined to an occasional inscription, or to certain magical

* Drenc wiþ feond-sceocum men, of ciric-bellan to drincanne: gyþrife glæs, gearwe, elehtre, betonice, attorlaþe, carrúc, fane, finul, ciric-ragu, Cristes-mæles ragu, lufestice, ge-wyrc þone drenc óf hluttrum ealað, ge-singe seofon mæssan ofer þám wyrtum dogerleác, and [do] halig wæter to, and drype ón ælcne drincan þone drenc þe he drincan wille éft, and singe þone sealm, *Beati inmaculati*, and *Exurgát*, and *Salvum me fác Deus*, and þonne drince þone drenc óf ciric-bellan, and se mæsse-preost hím singe æfter þam drence þis ofer, *Domine sancte pater omnipotens*. *Ib.* fol. 51, v°. It is rather uncertain what plants are designated by some of the names in the foregoing receipt. It may be observed here, that, in quoting from inedited Saxon treatises, in the present Essay, the accents are given precisely as they stand in the manuscripts.

phrases that were engraved on their arms, and on pieces of wood, or other materials, to be carried about their persons. From this practice, and from the rarity of inscriptions, the letters themselves were an object of superstition, and their name became equivalent to magic and mystery. Their form rendered them inconvenient for writing extensively ; but long after the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, the runic alphabet was preserved, and we find it in manuscripts written as late as the twelfth century. Although these letters were still used for various superstitious purposes, yet they were not unfrequently applied to other objects. As each letter had a significant name, we often find it used playfully in serious poems, instead of the word which designates it, as, for instance, in one of the poems of the Vercelli Manuscript, and even in the Romance of Beowulf. Among the riddles in the Exeter Manuscript, and in the Metrical Salomon and Saturn, these letters are frequently inserted with the intention of increasing the obscurity of the subject, sometimes with the signification of words, at others merely as letters, while in some cases the two systems seem to be mixed, and we are often obliged to read them backwards, before we can discover the mystery which is concealed under them. The runic alphabet, and the signification of its letters, form also the subject of a very curious Anglo-Saxon poem printed from a manuscript, now lost, by Hickes in his Thesaurus, and reprinted by William Grimm in a small treatise in German on the Teutonic Runes. Many of the crosses and other strange marks which are found among the superstitious medical receipts, represent probably the Runic charms of an earlier date.

§ VIII. *Fate of the Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature.*

1. During the period of which any written monuments in the Anglo-Saxon language are preserved, extending from the eighth century to the Norman conquest, it seems not to have undergone any great change. But soon after the entrance of the Normans, its use as a written language was superseded, first by the Latin tongue, which, introduced by the foreign ecclesiastics, again took the station which it had occupied in the eighth century, and continued to flourish until the middle of the thirteenth; and secondly, by the Anglo-Norman, a Neo-Latin dialect, which was the vernacular tongue of the invaders, and was not laid aside until the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is probable that the Anglo-Saxon tongue preserved its purity until the beginning of the twelfth century; but it then began to experience the influence of the great political revolution which had been effected in England. It was by degrees subjected to a general organic change of many of its letters; syllables were cut short in the pronunciation; and the final terminations and inflections of words began to be softened down, until at a later period they were entirely lost. In the latter years of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, which closes with A.D. 1155, we see that the language had already degenerated much from what it was fifty years before; and the change is still more apparent in the fragments lately published by Sir Thomas Phillipps. We have scarcely any other documents in the English tongue which can be ascribed with certainty to the twelfth century; but when we come to the age of Layamon, in the earlier half of the thirteenth, we find the transformation so complete, that it may be doubted whether the uncorrupted language of the Anglo-Saxon writings could then be

understood without much difficulty. During the thirteenth century, this organic change proceeded so rapidly, that there is quite as wide a difference between the language of Layamon and that which was written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, as there had been between the former and that written in the tenth, or as there is between the English language as written in the reign of Edward the Second, and the same tongue as we possess it at the present day. The form of our language during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century is generally termed *Semi-Saxon;* from that period to the time of the Reformation it has received from modern philologists the name of *Middle-English.*

2. The greatest destruction of Anglo-Saxon books happened during the numerous inroads of the Danes, from the ninth to the eleventh century, when so many of the richest libraries were committed to the flames, along with the monasteries in which they were deposited. Under the rule of the Normans, from the Conquest to the beginning of the thirteenth century, our old chroniclers relate many stories illustrative of the contempt with which the Anglo-Norman barons regarded the language of those whose rights they had usurped; but the more serious disputes related to charters rather than books, the latter (except when from time to time some English monk took them down) were allowed to lie neglected in the dust of monastic libraries, and the only losses which they sustained seem to have been the natural consequence of dirt and damp. But after this period the case was entirely changed, and, as they could no longer be read even by Englishmen, they had to suffer from various causes. A few monastic catalogues are still preserved in manuscripts of that age, and they contain the titles of many Anglo-Saxon books, which, however, are generally

described as being "old and useless."* Accordingly, we find that when the monks were in want of vellum, they scrupled not to take one of these "old and useless" Anglo-Saxon manuscripts; and, having carefully scraped out the original letters, to make use of it for writing a new work, which they considered more important and necessary. One of these *palimpsests* is preserved in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge, in which a splendid copy of the Anglo-Saxon Homilies of Alfric has been erased to make room for Latin decretals, although the destruction of the original was not so complete as to hinder us from tracing here and there a few words, particularly about the margins of the leaves. Sometimes, also, when the monks were at a loss for boards to bind their books, they took a few folios of these useless old manuscripts, and pasted them together; as was the case with the leaves discovered by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the covers of a volume preserved in Worcester Cathedral. The loss which Anglo-Saxon literature sustained by these means must have been very great. At the time of the Reformation, when, by the dissolution of the monasteries, their libraries of manuscripts were scattered in all directions, the number which perished cannot now be calculated, though the fragments which are found in the old bindings of books are sufficient to convince us that it was not small. The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, however, suffered much less at this time than the others,

* See, for example, a catalogue of the books in the Library at Glastonbury, made in 1248, and printed by Wanley, in the Introduction to his Catalogue of Saxon Manuscripts, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. We find several entries like the following:—

Item, duo Anglica, vetusta et inutilia.
Item, Sermones Anglici, vetusti, inutiles.
Passionale Sanctorum Anglice scriptum, vetust. inutile.

The second of these items was a volume of Anglo-Saxon homilies.

owing to the eagerness of the Reformers to collect them; yet we still find a few fragments in the covers of books printed during the sixteenth century.

3. The two great collectors of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the sixteenth century were Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Cotton. At the time of the Reformation, when church property was not always regarded with the same respect as at present, Parker found no difficulty in transferring most of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which were found in the libraries of cathedrals and churches into his own collection. Sir Robert Cotton was equally successful in gathering together those which had passed, by the plunder of the monasteries, into the stalls of booksellers or the hands of private individuals; and these two libraries, the former now preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the latter in the British Museum, are still the richest in Anglo-Saxon literature. Next in the scale we must place the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with the University Library at Cambridge, and one or two of the college libraries. The Royal Library in the British Museum is perhaps the richest of them all in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Latin books, and this, as well as the Harleian Library, and some other public and private collections, possess also a few scattered volumes written in the vernacular tongue.

4. It has been already observed that public attention was first directed to the remains of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, by the support which they afforded to the arguments of the Reformers.* Soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, Fox the martyrologist, and William L'Isle,

* It has been said, that so early as the fifteenth century, the monks of Tavistock applied themselves to the study of the Anglo-Saxon language, and that they even printed a grammar. No traces, however, of such a book can now be found; and it may have been a mere error arising from the indefinite manner in which some people formerly applied the term Anglo-Saxon.

under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, prosecuted the study of the Anglo-Saxon language, and published the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels and some of the Homilies. But their knowledge of the language was very imperfect, and confined entirely to the prose writings; for the difficulties they had to encounter, without grammar or dictionary, were too formidable to allow of their making much progress. About the middle of the seventeenth century flourished Spelman, Gibson, Whelock, and Junius, who gave to the study of the Anglo-Saxon language a new character. The first of these scholars was preparing to establish an Anglo-Saxon professorship in the University of Cambridge, when his intentions were thwarted by the turbulent times which followed. Sir Henry Spelman published the Ecclesiastical Laws in 1639; and his son edited the Anglo-Saxon Psalter in the following year. In 1643, Whelock printed Alfred's translation of Bede, with part of the Chronicle. Junius gave an edition of the poetry attributed to Cædmon, in 1655. In 1659, Somner published the first Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. From this period to the end of the century, numerous distinguished scholars were working zealously to bring to light new documents of Anglo-Saxon literature, and to facilitate the study of the language. Among others we may enumerate Bishop Gibson, Thwaites, Rawlinson, Hickes, and his niece Elizabeth Elstob. In 1689, Hickes published the first Anglo-Saxon Grammar, a book containing, as might naturally be expected, many errors, which later discoveries, and a more extensive reading, have corrected, but which, nevertheless, was then of great service to the cause of Anglo-Saxon philology. In 1692, Bishop Gibson printed a more complete edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; and in 1698, Rawlinson published King Alfred's Translation of Boethius, which was followed in 1699 by

Thwaites's edition of the Heptateuch. In 1701, an Anglo-Saxon vocabulary was published in an octavo volume by Thomas Benson; and four years afterwards, appeared the celebrated Thesaurus of Dr. Hickes.

5. After the beginning of the eighteenth century, the study of the Anglo-Saxon language soon fell into neglect; and it was long regarded as a mere toy for the amusement of antiquaries. The only works of any importance which were given to the world during this long period, were the Laws, by Wilkins, in 1721 and 1737; Alfred's Bede, by Smith, in 1722; and the Great Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, by Lye and Manning, in 1772, a monument of unwearied industry, but disfigured by a multitude of errors. In 1773, Daines Barrington published an ill executed edition of King Alfred's translation of Orosius. In 1750, the Anglo-Saxon Professorship was founded at Oxford, and brought into effect in 1795.

6. We owe the revival of the study of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature at the present day, in some measure to foreign scholars, whose attention was frequently given to it at the latter end of the last, and the beginning of the present century. In 1815, Thorkelin, a Dane, published the first edition of the Romance of Beowulf, which is, however, a very incorrect book. A few years later, Erasmus Rask at Copenhagen, and Dr. James Grimm in Germany, began to apply a more enlarged system of philology to the language. About the same time, the literature of our forefathers began to attract the attention of scholars in England, and was industriously cultivated by Conybeare, Ingram, and Bosworth; and, after the space of a century, the place formerly occupied by Elizabeth Elstob, was supplied by a worthy successor in Miss Gurney. The systems of Rask and Grimm, as applied to Anglo-Saxon philology, have since taken a more substan-

tial form under the hands of two native scholars, Thorpe and Kemble. Thorpe's translation of Rask is the best Grammar which has yet appeared. A portable Dictionary has been published recently by Dr. Bosworth; so that the impediments which formerly hindered the study of the Anglo-Saxon language are now entirely removed. Yet still, from the deficiency in many classes of documents, and from the recent period at which it has been studied in a true philological spirit, it is a language which is but imperfectly known.

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA LITERARIA.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

SECTION I.—British Writers of the Sixth Century.

GILDAS.

The catalogue of Anglo-Saxon writers begins with a name of very doubtful authority, which is supposed to have been borne by one of that people whom the Anglo-Saxons had driven from their homes.

The small district of Alcluyd (Dumbarton), where the vanquished Britons long held a limited rule, was once governed by a king named Can, or Ken,* who had no less than four-and-twenty sons. Of this number, one, called Gildas,† having displayed an early attachment to learning, was placed under the care of St. Iltutus, a cousin of the famous King Arthur. One of his fellow scholars, then a child like himself, was Sampson, afterwards Archbishop of York. Gildas soon became celebrated for his rigid piety; and, when the teaching of Iltutus was no longer sufficient to satisfy his thirst for learning, he left the shores of Bri-

* Mr. Stevenson's text of the life by Caradoc of Lancarvan, made after the two manuscripts in the British Museum, calls the father of Gildas *Nau*. There are, however, strong reasons for believing that this is only an error of the manuscripts; for not only does the biography by the monk of Ruys call him Can; but also Capgrave, and, still earlier, Giraldus Cambrensis (in Vit. David.), Johannes Glastoniensis (edited by Thomas Hearne), and the MS. Life of St. Cadoc (MSS. Cotton. Vespas. A. XIV. fol. 29, v°. and Titus, D. XXII. fol. 95), agree in giving him the name of Can or Kan; and all these writers seem to have taken what they say of Gildas from the tract by Caradoc.

† In Bede and Alcuin, the name is written *Gildus*.

tain to pursue his studies in France. Returning thence, after a residence of seven years, he opened a school in his native land, which was crowded with scholars from all parts of the island.

Gildas preached every Sunday to a numerous congregation in a church on the coast of Pembrokeshire, near the promontory which was then called Pepidiauc, but which has since received the name of St. David's Head. One day, as the preacher was in the midst of his exhortations, to the equal astonishment of himself and his disciples, he found himself deprived of the power of continuing the sermon which he had begun. Suspecting that this impediment might be caused by some one of the persons who were assembled to hear him, he ordered them all to go out of the church; and then, alone, as he believed, he made another attempt to proceed with his discourse. This second attempt was as vain as the former; but he now discovered that a British damsel, far advanced in pregnancy with the child who was afterwards to be the patron saint of Wales, had taken shelter within the doorway from the crowd which pressed without. Gildas ordered the intruder, whose name is said to have been Nonnita, to leave the church; and having called in his congregation, he continued his preaching without further interruption, and at the conclusion broke out in prophetic exclamations on the sanctity of the infant which was shortly to see the light.

The fame of Gildas became every day more widely spread; and St. Brigit, whose sanctity was now giving celebrity to Ireland, invited him to that island, where he was received with open arms by the Irish monarch. He there astonished every one, by the number and greatness of the miracles he performed; and he not only restored the Irish church, far degenerated from what it had been in the days of St. Patrick, to its original purity, but he

founded many monasteries. Whilst Gildas was thus labouring in Ireland, and whilst he was rector of the school at Armagh, his three-and-twenty brothers were engaged in obstinate warfare with King Arthur, whose supremacy they refused to acknowledge; and he there received, with deep sorrow, the news of the death of his eldest brother named Huel, who had been slain by Arthur in the isle of Minau.

It was not long after Arthur's triumph over the chieftains thus opposed to him, that Gildas left Ireland on his return to England, bringing with him a wonderful bell, which he intended to carry as a present to the pope. On his way he made a visit to St. Cadoc, who was then living at Lancarvan, and who made several vain attempts to obtain the bell. In the mean time, the arrival of Gildas having become known, the bishops, abbots, and clergy assembled together; and, fearing apparently that he was come to revenge his brother's death, they persuaded King Arthur to pacify his anger. The king obeyed their admonition, received forgiveness at the hands of Gildas, and repented during the remainder of his life that he had slain his own most inveterate enemy.

Gildas continued his journey to Rome, working miracles at every station at which he rested. From Rome he went to Ravenna, and then, on his return towards his native land, he came to Ruys in Britany, at the period when Childeric the son of Meroveus was King of the Franks. Gildas, who had now reached his thirtieth year, resolved to spend here the remainder of his life in retirement; and he laid the foundation of the monastery of St. Gildas de Ruys, so well-known in after ages. But, as his biographer quaintly observes, "it is not easy to conceal a lighted candle under a bushel," and the fame of the first abbot of Ruys was soon spread over the neigh-

bouring districts. According to the tradition there current among the monks, who were jealous of the possession of his relics, Gildas ended his days in this monastery.

But his own countrymen gave a very different version of the story. According to them, when Gildas arrived at Rome, and delivered his bell into the hands of the pope, the latter ordered him to carry it back and present it to St. Cadoc; and it long afterwards continued to be one of the wonders of Wales, on account of its efficiency in discovering theft and exposing falsehood. Gildas and Cadoc now became united in stricter friendship; they left Lancarvan together, in order to spend the remainder of their lives in solitude. For this purpose they chose two islands in the river Severn, known at present by the names of Steepholm and Flatholm, Gildas settling on the island nearest to the English side of the river, and Cadoc preferring that which was more approximate to Wales. Here however they were not allowed to remain long in quiet, for a party of northern pirates entered the river, ravaged the islands, and drove the two hermits from their homes. Gildas escaped to the isle of Avalon, since better known by the name of Glastonbury, where, according to most authors, he wrote the historical tract which bears his name.

Even here Gildas was not destined to enjoy complete tranquillity. Somersetshire was then governed by a tyrannical king named Meluas, who had carried away by force Guenever, Arthur's frail queen, and had sought refuge and concealment with his prize at Glastonbury, as being a place strong by its position amid the marshes which surrounded it. Indeed, it was not till after searching a year in vain, that the indignant husband found the place of their retreat; and then he raised an army and laid siege to the island. But now religion inter-

fered to soften the rudeness of warlike times. Gildas and the abbot of Glastonbury presented themselves, with a train of monks, between the hostile armies; they expostulated earnestly with both parties, and finally reconciled them, by persuading Meluas to deliver up the lady, and Arthur to forgive the injury which had been inflicted upon him. After their departure, Gildas built himself an oratory on the river side at a short distance from Glastonbury, and secluded himself entirely from the world. When he died, the monks carried his body to their abbey, and buried it in the middle of the pavement of St. Mary's church.

Such are the outlines of the life of Gildas, as given by his two biographers, Caradoc of Lancarvan in the twelfth century, and an anonymous monk of the abbey of St. Gildas de Ruys who is said to have lived in the eleventh.* These outlines are in the original biographies

* The life of Gildas by the monk of Ruys, attributed (on what authority we do not know) to the eleventh century, was first published by Johannes a Bosco, in the Bibliotheca Floriacensis, from an imperfect MS., and reprinted by the Bollandists in their Acta Sanctorum. A complete text was afterwards given by Mabillon in the Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. i. 138.

The life by Caradoc of Lancarvan has been recently printed, for the first time, by Mr. Stevenson, introductory to his edition of the work attributed to Gildas. The editor wishes to deprive Caradoc of the honour of having written it, and he attempts to show that it must be a work of earlier date. The arguments brought forward for this purpose seem, however, rather inconclusive. In the first place, we think he has by no means set in a fair light the direct authority for attributing it to Caradoc of Lancarvan, when he states simply that "in tracing backwards this assumption, we cannot advance higher than the time of Henry the Eighth, when the name of Caradoc was prefixed to the manuscript copy now in the Royal Library in the British Museum." For on reference to this manuscript, we find that it is a transcript of some older manuscript, and that the name is not prefixed to it, but is given in the following couplet at the end, evidently copied along with the rest from that older MS., and identical with the couplet which is printed in Usher:—

Na[n]carbanensis dictamina sunt Caratoci;
Qui legat emendat, placet illi compositori.

In all probability this is the same MS. which Usher used; and the first word

filled up with numerous miracles, most of which are too trifling to be repeated. It will be observed that, like his early biographers, we have cautiously avoided mentioning dates, reserving them for a discussion which the chronology of the life of Gildas, and the doubts which may justly be entertained respecting its authenticity now require; for we are by no means satisfied with the assertion that Archbishop Usher "has shown that the details of this legend are consistent with chronology." Before entering into this discussion, it may be observed, that four of the persons against whom Gildas particularly directed his book, are, according to the old Welsh chronologies, the four kings who succeeded one another during the four-and-twenty years which followed the death of King Arthur, this latter event being by them placed in A.D. 542.

is changed to *Lancarbanensis* by a hand of his time. There is, however, a copy of this tract in a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of the thirteenth century, which we think ought to have been the foundation of the printed text, as the oldest of the other copies does not seem to be more ancient than the latter part of the fourteenth. To this earliest copy, the above couplet is found affixed, as well as to a more modern copy in the same library. We have, therefore, a positive assertion at an early period that it was written by Caradoc. The internal evidence brought forward to support the contrary opinion, is of very little force; the introduction of Arthur and Guenever is sufficient to justify us in saying it could not have been written before the Romances were in fashion. It is argued that this life of Gildas gives Arthur a more humble character than he possesses in the writers of the twelfth century; as, for instance, by "not scrupling to call him *rex rebellis*," in speaking of his wars with the brothers of Gildas and with Meluas. But, in mediæval Latin *rex rebellis* does not mean a *rebel king*, but *a king who is provoked to make war on another*, or who does it to repel an aggression, and it is a term that might have been applied to Arthur in all the glory with which romance has clothed him.

There is another life of Gildas in French, in a MS. of the beginning of the fourteenth century, lately acquired by the British Museum ("Ici commence la vie monseigneur S. Gildas," MS. Egerton, No. 745, fol. 77, v°). It is very legendary. Gildas is here said to have been a native of Bretagne, and to have been educated under St. Phylebert, "qui donc estoit abés de Tournay."

We have no information relating to the exact year of the birth of Gildas, except that given in a passage of his own book, which we will leave out of consideration for the present. According to the narrative of the monk of Ruys, he was placed while a child under the tuition of Iltutus. Now according to his own legend, which is of about the same age and authority as that of Gildas by Caradoc, Iltutus was the cousin of King Arthur, and was himself converted to piety by the preaching of St. Cadoc, who, according to his legend, was contemporary both with King Arthur and with Mailgun, the fourth in succession after him.* This king, according to the Welsh annals, reigned in the latter half of the sixth century, and therefore we may very fairly place the conversion of Iltutus about the middle of the first half of the same century, and Gildas must have been a child under his tuition at a somewhat later period. Yet, according to Caradoc and the writer of the Life of St. Cadoc, it cannot have been more than a year or two after this same date, that Gildas, already a middle-aged man, (for he had been on the Continent seven years, had taught in Wales and predicted the birth of St. David, and had founded monasteries in Ireland,) made his visit to that saint on his way to Rome. Moreover, Sampson, who, according to the monk of Ruys, was a child along with Gildas after A.D. 525 (according to this calculation), was in truth, as we know from other sources, driven, when an old man, from his archbishopric of York by the invasion of the Saxons about the year 500.†

Again, when, according to the narrative of Caradoc of Lancarvan, Gildas *foretold* the birth of St. David, he could not have been less than twenty-five years of age, and was probably more. Now St. David was the uncle of King

* See the legend of Cadoc, MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. xiv. fol. 41, v°.

† Lappenberg, Geschichte von England, vol. i. p. 111.

Arthur; and he presided, as bishop, over a synod in 519, the object of which was to root out the seeds of Pelagianism. He must, therefore, at that period have been advanced in years. At Arthur's death, Gildas had thus already outlived three generations; yet we must extend his life through about twenty-four years more, to satisfy the conditions imposed by his own book.

The next important incident in the life of Gildas, is his visit to Ireland, whither he was invited by St. Brigit, who is said herself to have settled at Glastonbury in A.D. 488; and yet while Gildas was with Brigit in Ireland, of course previous to her arrival at Glastonbury, his brothers in England were at war with King Arthur, who at that date could not have been born!*

Gildas went from Ireland to Rome. On his way he visited Cadoc, which could scarcely have occurred before A.D. 530. At the time he arrived in Britany, in the reign of Childeric, he was thirty years of age. Now Childeric reigned from 458 to 481; and if we take the middle point of his reign as the date of Gildas's visit, we shall find him in his thirtieth year about A.D. 470, and we must carry back the date of his birth to the year 440, so that he would be at least ninety years of age when he reached Rome. It has been observed too that the legend of the monk of Ruys places at the date when Gildas settled in Britany a certain transaction between two chiefs, Conomorus and Werochus, of whom the former, as we learn from Gregory of Tours, died in 561, and the other did not occupy the station, which he is represented as holding, before 577.†

* The monk of Ruys calls the king, who at this time *governed all Ireland*, Ammericus, perhaps the Ammireach who, according to the Annals of Tigernach, died in 569.

† Gregor. Tur. Hist. Franc. lib. iv. c. 20, and lib. v. c. 16.

Lastly, the historians of Glastonbury, William of Malmsbury and Johannes Glastoniensis,* place the death of Gildas in A.D. 512, too early to allow his having had any transactions with King Arthur, or of his being the author of the book which was directed against Arthur's successors, and written, according to Ralph Dicetus,† in 581, or according to the list of historians, which is common in manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in 584.‡

It would certainly not be easy to conceive a greater number of chronological inconsistencies in a much larger compass than we here find crowded together within the life of one man. Archbishop Usher endeavours to overcome the difficulty by following Bale in making two persons of the name of Gildas, one of whom he names Gildas Albanius, because his father is called *rex Albaniæ*, and the other *Gildas Badonicus*, because he was born in the year of the siege of Bath; and Usher has been followed by some other writers. In pursuance of this supposition, the life by the monk of Ruys is conceived to belong to Gildas Albanius, and that by Caradoc to Gildas Badonicus. It must be avowed, however, that this is a very dangerous mode of solving historical difficulties, for we have no good authority for making such a division; on the contrary, all the early writers who mention the name of Gildas, are unanimous in declaring him to be *Gildas historicus*, the writer of the

* Will. Malmsb. de Antiq. Glaston. (in Hearne's edit. of Adam de Domerham) p.18, et Johannis Glastoniensis Histor. ed. Hearne, p. 73. The latter writer does little more than copy the former, in what he says about Gildas.

† In Twisden's Decem Scriptores.

‡ Gilda, Britonum gesta flebili sermone descripsit, anno incarnationis verbi, d.lxxxiiij. MSS. Cotton, Faustin. A. VIII. fol. 101. v°. and Claud. E. VIII. fol. 22, r°.

tract which is still preserved, and they appear to be unacquainted with any other person bearing that name. Indeed, the supposition that there were two men bearing this name, will only partially aid us in solving the difficulty, and therefore other writers have ventured to propose six or seven.* The lives are not only inconsistent with each other, but each is inconsistent with itself; for it is altogether as improbable that, according to the narrative of Caradoc, his Gildas had prophesied the birth of St. David and had outlived him by many years, particularly if, as we are told, St. David himself lived a hundred and forty-six years; † as it is impossible that the Gildas of the monk of Ruys should have been a child under Iltutus after A.D. 525, and yet have been thirty years of age in Britany, in 470. If the life of Gildas had contained one or two such errors only, we might have ventured to reject the errors, and consider the rest as tolerably authentic; but the mass of errors which is here presented to us, compels us to the only rational supposition, that the whole is a fable, created probably during the latter part of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, the period at which so many other fabulous narratives took their rise. It is not the chronological errors alone which shake our faith in the story; for the whole narrative is inconsistent with all our notions of the character of the age in which Gildas is said to have lived. In proof of this we need only point out such incidents as his mission to carry a bell to the pope, and Cadoc's seven journies to Rome and three to Jerusalem,‡

* See Mabillon, in his introductory observations on the life by the monk of Ruys, in the Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedict.; and Tanner's Bibliotheca.

† See Godwin, de Præsulibus.

‡ The pope says (in Caradoc's life of Gildas, § 7) Nosco Cadocum venerabilem abbatem qui septies adivit civitatem istam, et ter Hierosolymam post immensa pericula et assiduum laborem. Cadoc himself says, according to

at a time when a British Christian to arrive at Rome must have forced his way through many and great difficulties, and when, it being not more than half a century before the mission of St. Augustine, it may be doubted whether it were known at Rome with any degree of certainty that the British church continued to exist. Such circumstances as these, and the seven years' study in France, seem to point to the manners of a much later period.

If we give up the life of Gildas as told by his biographers, all that is known even of his name, and all that seems to have been known for many centuries, is the information we gather from his own book, and even this is not free from suspicion. The tract which has been known since the days of Bede as the work of Gildas, consists in the first place of a brief and barren sketch of the vicissitudes of British history under the Romans, and during the wars between the Britons and the Picts and Scots, and the Saxon invasions, chiefly compiled from Roman writers; and secondly, of a long epistle to his countrymen, and particularly to five kings, Constantine, Aurelius Conan, Vortipore, Cuneglas, and Maglocunus, which is but a series of bitter invectives against the general and degrading wickedness of kings and people, of the clergy even more than the laity. The writer closes his sketch of British history with the following passage:—"Et ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant . . . . usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, qui prope Sabinum ostium habetur, novissimæque ferme de furciferis non minimæ stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, orditur annus, *mense jam primo emenso, qui jam et meæ nativitatis est.*" The date of this siege is fixed, on

the MS. life of this saint, ter Hierusalem septiesque Romam pro Dei amore profectus sum.

very uncertain authority, in A.D. 520, so that, by this mode of reckoning, Gildas would have written his book in 564, when he was in his forty-fourth year. It may also be observed, that no circumstance in this book affords the slightest support to the *biographies* of its author.

It is a very remarkable circumstance that Bede, who gives his brief account of the events of this period almost literally from Gildas, and who seems to have known no other authority, has quite misunderstood the foregoing passage. It is evident that he thought the expression used in the original rather equivocal, and therefore he changes its form; but he represents Gildas as saying that the siege of Bath happened in the forty-fourth year, not before he wrote, but after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, and therefore in A.D. 493, instead of 520. If we take the phrase of Gildas as it now stands, it is difficult to imagine how Bede could have fallen into such an error; but this difficulty would be entirely taken away, if we might be allowed to suppose that in the copy he used, the phrase closed with the word *annus*, and that the words which follow were omitted. The error of Bede, moreover, is not the only extraordinary circumstance connected with this passage. The monk of Ruys, in his life of Gildas, quotes directly from this book; and there can be no doubt that Caradoc of Lancarvan, as well as most of the historians of that time, were well acquainted with it; yet none of them make the slightest allusion to the testimony which Gildas here bears to his own age. We have therefore sufficient cause for suspecting that the mention of the date of the author's nativity is an insertion by some later copyist. Unfortunately, the manuscripts which have been preserved, are neither sufficiently numerous, nor of sufficient antiquity, to be of much use in solving this question.

If, however, this suspicion be well founded, then all our evidence of the existence of a person named Gildas would be reduced to the bare circumstance that as early as the age of Bede his name was affixed to this book, the authenticity of which we must either take for granted, or it must be deduced from internal evidence. This latter is very unsatisfactory, for it consists simply in the mention of five British chiefs, who are not mentioned elsewhere until the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the Welsh annalists of his age. The style of Gildas is always very confused, and his meaning sometimes not quite clear; but he appears to address these five persons as kings of different small states reigning contemporaneously; while Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Welsh annalists represent four of them as succeeding each other on the same throne, just in the order in which Gildas enumerates them, during a period of twenty-four years.* If, therefore, these authorities are good, we must either suppose that the book which bears the name of Gildas is altogether incorrect, or that it was written by a person who lived after the latest of these kings had ceased to reign, and who, reviewing retrospectively the crimes of his countrymen, took the five kings in chronological order to be the subjects of his invectives. We will not however conceal our own impression that the account which Geoffrey of Monmouth gives of these kings, and probably that given by all the other authorities, are not only founded entirely on the book attributed to Gildas, but that several of the circumstances which they have given of their history and character are mere misinterpretations of the expressions that occur in

* See Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. viii. c. 1, and his abbreviator Alfred of Beverley, ed. Hearne, p. 73. Arthurus rex obiit Anno DXLII. Dunand rex moritur. Conanus. Vortiporius. Mailgo. Hi quatuor XXIV. sequentibus Arthuri mortem annis regnaverunt unus post alium in Britannia. Ex Annalibus Menevensibus, in Wharton's Anglia Sacra.

that book, as in the instance of a crime which Geoffrey and his imitators ascribe to Maglocunus, or Mailgun. We shall be thus led to the conclusion, that there is no independent authority now existing which will enable us to test the historical truth of this tract, and that we have no information relating to its writer, which merits the slightest degree of credit.

But, although it is not now possible to raise an absolute historical proof on either side of this question, there are still some circumstances in the history of the book which are sufficient to raise suspicions of its authenticity. It seems to have come first into notice amid the hostilities between the Anglo-Saxon and the British churches, which exceeded in bitterness even the enmity that naturally existed between the two people: the idea of using the writings of a British priest as an argument against the purity of his own church was not likely to be lost; but there is more of the tone of a foreign enemy, than of a native churchman, in the over-strained invective which is here directed against the British priesthood.* The presumption which this circumstance appears to countenance, that the book was forged by some Anglo-Saxon or foreign priest of the seventh century, in his zeal to uphold the Romish church, as it had been introduced among the Anglo-Saxons, against the church of the Britons which was resisting its ordinances, is in a certain degree countenanced by its subsequent fate. We find it first mentioned by the historian Bede, who gives us so many details of the disputes between the two churches, and who on one occasion cites it in a very remarkable

* It may be observed that the writer of the tract describes the barbarity of the Saxon invaders in no less extravagant terms; but they are terms which it is probable that a Saxon Christian would not scruple to apply to his forefathers when unconverted. Dr. Lappenberg endeavours to explain the character of Gildas, as a true personage, in his History, vol. i. p. 135.

manner as a testimony against the British clergy;* and it is again quoted by Alcuin in a similar feeling, at a time when the heat of these disputes had not long subsided.† From that time, there is scarcely any allusion to it in English writers until the twelfth century, when we find Geoffrey of Monmouth interweaving whole sentences out of it into his own history, without acknowledgment: a circumstance in itself sufficient to make us believe this latter work is in great measure a fabrication, its groundwork being romances and popular legends.

Two manuscripts only are now known to exist of the tract *de Excidio Britanniæ*, ascribed by Bede to Gildas, both preserved in the public library of the University of Cambridge. One of these manuscripts seems to have been written early in the thirteenth century; the other is of the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth.‡

But, if the manuscripts are scarce, the case is widely different with the printed editions, of which the first was published at London in 1525, by Polydore Vergil, and dedicated to Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London. The editor informs us in his preface that he had made use of two manuscripts, that he had corrected the quotations from Scripture according to the text then in use, and that he had altered the construction of the original Latin in some places, to make it run more smoothly. Polydore's edition was reprinted at Paris in 1541, in the same form as the original, and it was in-

* Qui, inter alia inenarrabilium scelerum facta, quæ historicus eorum Gildus flebili sermone describit, et hoc addebant, *ut nunquam genti Saxonum sive Anglorum, secum Britanniam incolenti, verbum fidei prædicando committerent*. Sed non tamen divina pietas plebem suam, quam præscivit, deseruit, quin *multo digniores* genti memoratæ præcones veritatis, per quos crederet, destinavit. Bede, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 22.

† Alcuin. Epist. ix. et lix. ed. Froben. 1777.

‡ The shelf-marks of these two manuscripts are Ff. i. 27, and Dd. i. 17.

serted in both editions of the 'Orthodoxographi,' in 1555 and 1569. Tanner mentions editions of Gildas printed, in 12mo., at Basil in 1568, and at Paris in 1576, which were probably also reprints of the first edition. In the former of these years, a new text was formed, with the aid of two other manuscripts, by John Josseline, secretary to Archbishop Parker, and printed at London in an 8vo. volume. One of these manuscripts, as we are informed by Josseline, had belonged to the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, and the other had passed from that of Glastonbury into the hands of a gentleman of Kent. The former, he says, was then about 'six hundred years old;' but little confidence can be placed in the judgment of writers of that age on such a question. This tract was again published in the collection of historians printed in folio at Heidelberg in 1587, under the title of 'Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores vetustiores ac præcipui.' In the following century it was inserted in the different great collections which bore the title of 'Bibliotheca Patrum.' In 1691, Gale included it in the first volume of his 'Historiæ Britannicæ, &c. Scriptores XV.,' having formed his text chiefly upon one of the Cambridge manuscripts. Gale's text was reprinted, with a few conjectural emendations, at Copenhagen, by Charles Bertram, along with the historical tract which goes under the name of Nennius, and the previously unknown work of Richard of Cirencester, 8vo. 1757. A new edition of Gildas has been recently published by the Historical Society, edited by Mr. Joseph Stevenson from the two Cambridge manuscripts, to which we have already alluded on several occasions.

The contents of the tract *de Excidio Britonum* have been already sufficiently described. The book contains little information, even if it be authentic. It is written in an

inflated style not much unlike that of Aldhelm; and the following account of the second embassy sent by the Britons to Rome, when they were suffering under the invasions of the Picts and Scots, may be given as a fair specimen.

"Iterumque mittuntur queruli legati, scissis, ut dicitur, vestibus, opertisque sablone capitibus, impetrantes a Romanis auxilia, ac velut timidi pulli patrum fidelissimis alis succumbentes, ne penitus misera patria deleretur, nomenque Romanum, quod verbis tantum apud eos auribus resultabat, vel extranearum gentium opprobrio vilesceret. At illi, quantum humanæ naturæ possibile est, commoti tantæ historia tragœdiæ, volatus ceu aquilarum, equitum in terra, nautarum in mari, cursus accelerantes inopinatos primum, tandem terribiles inimicorum ungues cervicibus infigunt mucronum, casibusque foliorum tempore certo assimulandam istam peragunt stragem; ac si montanus torrens crebris tempestatum rivulis auctus, sonorosoque meatu alveos exundans, ac sulcato dorso fronteque acra, erectis, ut aiunt, ad nebulas undis (luminum quibus pupilli, persæpe licet palpebrarum convolutibus innovati, adjunctis sibi minutissimarum rotarum tautonibus veluti fuscantur) mirabiliter spumans; ast uno objectas sibi evincit gurgite moles;—ita æmulorum agmina auxiliatores egregii, si qua tamen evadere potuerant, propere trans maria fugaverunt, quia anniversarias avida prædas, nullo obsistente, trans maria exaggerabant."

We need not wonder if liberties were taken in after ages with a name involved in so much mystery as that of Gildas, or if many spurious works were published under it, and many wrongly ascribed to it in consequence of the errors of others. Bale, who gives two lists under the different heads of Gildas Albanius and Gildas Badonicus, has contrived to make several different works out of the common tract *de Excidio*, by taking the initial words of different paragraphs as the commencement of so many new books. Geoffrey of Monmouth quotes a book of Gildas, "quem de Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii composuit," probably a mere error arising out of the mention of the battle of Bath (bellum Badonicum) in the same tract. Bale mentions also a history (historiam quandam) which went under the name of Gildas, and commenced with the words 'Alboinus Lombardorum rex.'

Some old authorities not only attribute to Gildas books which never existed, but they ascribe to him or to some other persons motives for composing and destroying them. Thus we are informed by Giraldus that he wrote his book De Excidio Britanniæ in a fit of spleen against King Arthur;* and another writer assures us that he composed a much larger book on contemporary British history than that which at present goes under his name, but that in this he condemned with such unrestrained freedom the conduct of the British chieftains and others, that they seized upon his book and committed it to the flames.† It may be added, while speaking ot the historical works attributed to Gildas, that the brief chronicle commonly published under the name of Nennius, was generally attributed to him by the earlier writers.

Gildas had to sustain the character of a prophet, as well as that of an historian; and indeed the man who had predicted the birth of St. David, might very well be supposed to have foreseen with equal ease and certainty the events of more distant ages. The prophecies of Gildas, generally in Latin verse, are often found in old manuscripts. Bale has given the title of three prophetical works attributed to him, all in verse:—

* De Gilda vero, qui adeo in gentem suam acriter invehitur, dicunt Britones quod propter fratrem suum Albaniæ principem, quem rex Arthurus occiderat, offensus hæc scripsit.—De Illaud. Wal. lib. ii. c. 2. (Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. ii.) The words which follow show us clearly how much we are involved in fable when we approach this question;—Unde et libros egregios, quos de gestis Arthuri et gentis suæ laudibus multos scripserat, audita fratris sui nece, omnes, ut asserunt, in mare projecit. Cujus rei causa, nihil de tanto principe in scriptis authenticis expressum invenies.

† Fecit namque ipse Gilda librum magnum de regibus Britonum et de præliis eorum, sed quia vituperavit eos multum in eo libro, incenderunt ipsi librum illum. Note in the margin of the earliest MS. of Gildas, quoted by Stevenson, p. 35. All these apocryphal stories shew that, even at an early period, it was felt that there was a certain character about the book whioh could not easily be explained.

Versus vaticinales.
De sexto cognoscendo.
Super eodem sexto.

In explanation of the last two articles here attributed to Gildas, it may be observed that in the prophecies of Merlin, which first became widely popular in England under Henry II., the *sixth* of the kings in succession after the Norman conquest was described, not only as one of the greatest monarchs that would reign over the island, but he was to be the conqueror of Ireland; and this king was generally understood as meaning Henry himself, for whom apparently the character was intended. But the compiler of the prophecies had contrived to involve the subject in some mysteries, which were perhaps increased by the circumstance, that the events of the years following their publication did not always agree with what had been foretold, and which therefore gave rise to many tracts, the object of which was to explain the meaning of Merlin's *sixth* king. The explanations of contemporaries might not, however, always be attended to; and those who were particularly interested in the sense which should be given to these pretended prophecies, put forth spurious tracts under the name of Gildas and others, who at that time enjoyed the character of prophets, in which these prophets were made to foresee the difficulties, and add further particulars to clear up the sense, of what had already been predicted by the soothsayer Merlin.

It was but a short step from the character of prophet to that of poet. Giraldus Cambrensis, as he is quoted by Leland, mentions the epigrams of Gildas, which he praises for their correctness and elegance; but, as they are not now extant, we can form no judgment of their age or style. A long history of the Britons, in Latin hexameters, preserved in a Cottonian manuscript (Julius

D. XI.) is also attributed to Gildas; but it is nothing more than a metrical version of "the Brute," made apparently in the thirteenth century. Some writers also, deceived by the title (*liber querulus*) which is prefixed to Gildas *de Excidio,* have attributed to him the Querulus of Vitalis of Blois, a poem founded upon the Aulularia of Plautus, which has been recently published at Darmstadt by Fried. Osann.

Bale, on what authority does not appear, ascribes to Gildas, in his character of theologian, commentaries on the Evangelists in four books, and a Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul. The 'Acta Germani et Lupi,' which the same writer attributes to him, is only a part of Nennius. Lastly, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and after him John Bromton, tell us that he translated from the British tongue into Latin the *leges Molmutinas.**

Editions of Gildas.

Opus Novum. Gildas Britannus monachus, cui Sapientis cognomentum est inditum, de calamitate, excidio, et conquestu Britanniæ, &c. Edited by Polydore Vergil. 8vo. The preface dated London, 8 id. April. 1525. —Reprinted, Par. 1541, 8vo. Bas. 1568, 12mo. Paris, 1576, 12mo., and in the Orthodoxographi.

De Excidio et Conquestu Britannæ, ac flebili castigatione in Reges, Principes, et Sacerdotes, Epistola: vetustiss. Exemp. auxilio a mendis plurimis vindicata, &c. Lond. ap. Daye, 1563, 8vo. Lond. 1567, 12mo.

De Excid. ex editione J. Josselini, per J. Daium, Lond. 1568, 8vo.

Rerum Britannicarum scriptores vetustiores et præcipui, &c. fol. Heidelb. 1587. Gildas is the third article in the volume.

Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores XV. Ex vetustis Codd. MSS. editi opera Thomæ Gale. Tom. 1. fol. Oxon. 1691. Gildas forms the first article of the contents of this volume.

* Cave, de Scriptor. Eccl. vol. i. p. 538, gives a short account of Gildas, and expresses his doubts of the authenticity of the book attributed to him, on account of the historical ignorance which it exhibits. Bishop Nicholson, Historical Library, part i. p. 26, ridicules the supposition of a multiplicity of men of the name of Gildas. The account of this reputed writer in the Histoire Litéraire de la France, vol. iii. is a mere brief abridgment of the uninteresting narrative of the monk of Ruys, but is accompanied by a good detailed account of the books attributed to him. See also Lappenberg, Gesch. von Engl. vol. i. p. xxxviii.

Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores Tres: Ricardus Corinensis, *Gildas Badonicus*, Nennius Banchorensis. Recensuit, &c. Carolus Bertramus. Havniæ, Impensis editoris, 1757, 8vo.

Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ. Ad fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stevenson. 8vo. Lond. 1838. (published by the Historical Society.)

English Translations.

The Epistle of Gildas, a Briton, entit. de Excidio et Conquestu Britanniæ. Translated into English, by Thomas Habington. Lond. 1638, 8vo.

A Description of the State of Great Brittain, written Eleven Hundred Yeares since. By that ancient and famous Author *Gildas*, sir-named the *Wise*, and for the excellency of the work translated into English, &c. London, 1652, 12mo.

SUPPOSITITIOUS WRITERS—NENNIUS.

The list of British writers during the period which elapsed from the departure of the Romans to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, who are mentioned by the Anglo-Saxon authors, or who have left any literary remains, is so brief, that, if we reject Gildas, it is not easy to produce with certainty a single name. Yet the Welsh antiquaries have laid claim to many writers in the sixth century, and even our own older authorities, such as Bale and Leland, swell their catalogues with the names of Mangantius, Dubricius, Iltutus, David, Sampson, Elvodugus, Beulan, Elbodus, Samuel, Nennius, and others.

Most of the subjects said to have been treated by these persons were historical. To Elvodugus, supposed to have lived in A.D. 590, was attributed a History of the Britons, in one book (Historia Britonum, lib. 1.) His contemporary, Elbodus, according to the same authorities, wrote a history of his own times. Nennius and Samuel also wrote histories of their countrymen. Beulan wrote a commentary on the history by Nennius, and other works, the titles of which are thus enumerated in Tanner's Bibliotheca:

Annotationes in Nennium, lib. 1.
Historiam itinerariam, lib. 1.
Arthuri facta apud Scotus, lib. 1.

We know nothing about the men who are said to have borne these several names, and to whom these works are attributed; but when we consider also what we do know concerning some other supposed writers who are said to have been their contemporaries, we shall have no difficulty in forming an estimate of the authority on which the others rest. Mangantius, or Malgantius, is introduced in the fabulous history of Geoffrey of Monmouth as one of the magicians of King Vortigern, who were present when the child Merlin was first brought before that monarch; and, on hearing the strange relation of the soothsayer's birth, he is made to give an account of the nature of the spirits which in a superstitious age went under the name of *incubi*, and in so doing to quote the testimony of the Platonic philosopher Apuleius. On this foundation alone two distinct works are attributed to this imaginary personage, one on Natural Magic, the other a commentary upon Apuleius, besides other writings to which no titles are given.* Dubricius wrote treatises against the Saxon invaders; and Beulan, thinking, as it seems, that his countrymen might wish to know something more about their enemies, wrote the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxons, though we are not told where he obtained his materials. In like manner, to Sampson, because he was driven from his bishopric by the wars, is attributed a treatise "de patientia in adversis"!

It is certainly remarkable that the period, concerning which we are so entirely deficient in historical infor-

* "De Magie Naturali, lib. 1.
Apuleiumque exposuit, lib. 1.
aliaque composuit ejus generis non pauca."
Bale, de Script. p. 47.

mation, should have been comparatively more fertile than any other in writers of contemporary history. For to judge by the list above enumerated, more than one half of the British writers of this age were historians. But it is much more singular, that of so many interesting books which are here attributed to them, not one should have been preserved to after ages; particularly when, if we look to the history of other nations during the Middle Ages, we are unable to conceive any cause sufficient to account for their destruction.

One name in the foregoing list of British writers, that of Nennius, deserves perhaps more notice than the others, because it is found prefixed to a book which is still preserved. The account which is commonly given of Nennius, is taken almost entirely from two spurious prologues to this book, which in all probability are not older than the twelfth century, and from certain not very intelligible verses which are added to it in a manuscript of the beginning of the thirteenth century, preserved in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge. In the prologues he is made to describe himself as the disciple of Elbodus; whilst in the verses his master is said to have been Beulan, to whose son Samuel they are addressed.* These indications would fix the age of Nennius to the beginning of the seventh century. According to Leland, he was abbot of Bangor, where he is said to have received his education: and, escaping from the massacre of the monks in 603, he spent his latter years in the Scottish islands. The Welsh antiquaries insisted upon a still more remote authority for the contents of the book which goes under his name: they said that it was

* "Versus Nennii ad Samuelem filium Magistri sui, Beulani presbyteri, viri religiosi, ad quem Historiam istam scripserat." This is the same Samuel whose name is given in the list above-mentioned.

written by a Nennius who defeated Julius Cæsar in personal combat, and who compiled it in the British language from the traditions of the bards and priests; and that the second Nennius, the abbot of Bangor, translated the work of his predecessor, and continued it to his own time.*

The book, however, to which the name of Nennius is prefixed, and which is a short sketch of British history, beginning with the fabulous account of the colonisation of the island, contains dates and allusions which belong to a much later period, and carries with it many marks of having been an intentional forgery. The earliest manuscripts give it as an anonymous treatise. The name of Nennius is not joined with it until the beginning of the thirteenth century; and both then and afterwards it is as frequently given under the name of Gildas.† The attachment, however, shown to the number three, with some other peculiarities, seem to prove that the compiler was, or at least wished to appear to be, a Welshman.‡ He evidently intended that it should pass for a work written soon after the middle of the seventh century, and the narrative closes immediately after the death of Penda king of Mercia, an event which occurred in the year 655. The outlines of the history which it contains are taken from the most common sources, but are disfigured partly by the com-

* See Tanner's Bibliotheca and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Bishop Nicholson speaks rather jestingly of Nennius and his book: Historical Lib. part I. p. 27. Gildas, also, was said by some Welsh antiquaries to have been educated at Bangor.

† It is very singular that, in the Cambridge MS. already mentioned, the scribe has paid so little attention to what he was writing, that he copied this tract twice in the same volume, first under the name of Nennius, and afterwards under that of Gildas, as two different books.

‡ The frequent "trilogies" in the work ascribed to Nennius have been pointed out by Lappenberg, Gesch. von Engl. vol. i. p. xxxix. and by Stevenson, in the introduction to his edition of it.

piler's ignorance, but much more by his prejudices; and they probably owe something to his imagination. In order, apparently, to fix with more precision the age to which it was to be attributed, a series of genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings was interwoven into the text, taken from tables which were brought down to a much later time; for, although it was evidently the intention of the writer to end with the kings who reigned at the period above mentioned, yet in one or two instances he has (probably by a mere oversight) passed the mark, and mentioned persons of a later date.* Thus, the genealogy of the kings of Northumbria ends with Oswin, who died in 670, and mentions his sons; and that of the kings of Kent is brought down to Ecgbert, who reigned from 664 to 673. In the genealogy of East-Anglia, the compiler has descended too low by one degree, closing the list with the son of Aldulf, who himself died so late as 713. But this mistake arose evidently from his not being aware of the length of Aldulf's reign, which began in 663. In his account of the kings of Mercia, this compiler seems to have had before him an original which he did not clearly understand, and his own table is so confused, that it is not

* We are inclined to differ with those who, because the genealogies are not found in the earliest manuscript, have supposed that they do not properly belong to the book, but that they have been added by some of the scribes, who copied them from another book. If this had been the case, the scribe would probably have copied the whole genealogies, and we do not think it likely he would have found MSS. wherein they were not brought lower than the seventh century. Some of those manuscripts which omit the genealogies, insert a reason for doing so: "Sed cum inutiles magistro meo, id est Beulano presbytero, visæ sunt genealogiæ Saxonum et aliæ genealogiæ gentium, nolui eas scribere." (See var. lect. in Stevenson's edit. p. 54.) This passage, from the hand of another intentional forger, proves that they were in the text before they were omitted, and reminds us of the old jest of Hierocles, how a *scholasticus* at Athens, when he received a commission from a friend to buy books, which he did not perform, excused himself by writing back, "Your letter, *in which you asked me to buy you books*, never came to hand" (τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἣν περὶ βιβλίων ἀπέστειλάς μοι, οὐκ ἐκομισάμην).

easy to say where he intended to stop, but he has introduced the name of Ecgferth, who did not die till A.D. 795; and in a similar manner, in the genealogy of the kings of Deira, he mentions bishop Ecgbert, who died in 766. These two oversights seem clearly to show that the author of the book was writing at a later period than that of the man whom he wished to personate.

This was observed by some writer who read his history, and who, to obviate the difficulty, added to it certain chronological notes, also pretending to come from the supposed author, who here declares that he wrote the book 796 years after Christ's passion, or, as he goes on to state, in A.D. 831. But this new writer seems to have discovered himself exactly in the same manner as his predecessor; for, in most of the early manuscripts which contain this chronological addition, it is coupled with a statement of the number of years that had passed since the creation of the world, which, according to the writer's own calculation, would bring us down to a much later period. These discrepancies puzzled the scribes of the different manuscripts now preserved; and by attempting to set them right these have again introduced numerous variations in the dates. The oldest manuscript states the year in which this history was written to be A.D. 976, the fifth year of the reign of king Edmund.*

The tract which goes under the name of Nennius is, as might be supposed from what has been said above, of very little historical value; but it derives a certain degree of importance from those very parts which are least historical. The stories of the first colonization of our islands,

* In this MS. the work is attributed to Marcus the hermit. Mr. Stevenson's supposition is extremely probable that this title originated in the mistake of some person who found in it the Miracles of St. Germanus, which are elsewhere told on the authority of a monk of that name. See the introd. to the last edition.

of the exploits of King Arthur, and, above all, of Merlin and his wonderful birth and prophecies, which are not found elsewhere before the twelfth century, exercised great influence upon the literature of succeeding ages, and through it they have presented many mysterious questions to exercise the learning and ingenuity of modern historians. If the book could be proved to have been written previous to the Norman Conquest, it would support the claim of these legends to a Welsh origin. But the true date of its composition cannot at present be satisfactorily ascertained. The recent editor has, we think, been misled by the catalogue in ascribing the manuscript (MS. Harl. No. 3859), which he follows, to the tenth century: it belongs perhaps to the beginning of the twelfth, but is hardly older than the latter part of the eleventh. The manuscript preserved in the Vatican, is also attributed to the tenth century, but may, to judge by the fac-simile, have been written at a somewhat later period.* All the others, which are numerous, date from the thirteenth century downwards. No allusion to it, older than the twelfth century, has yet been discovered.

The editions of this tract are few. It did not appear in print until 1691, when Gale inserted it with Gildas in the first volume of his folio Collection of English Historians. Gale's text was reprinted by Bertram, at Copenhagen, in 1758.† In 1819, the Rev. W. Gunn, rector of Irstead, in

* This MS., certainly the oldest known, seems to have been written abroad. The other early copy is also written in rather a foreign hand. This is a curious circumstance, and at least gives room for the question whether the book itself were not compiled on the continent—in Britany, for instance. It is a question of the greatest importance to the history of the middle-age romances. The book seems to have been made by one who was well acquainted with the legends which formed the groundwork of those romances, and attempted to mix them with the few historical notes of the history of the period which were to be found in common books as readily abroad as in England.

† See before, p. 130 of the present volume.

Norfolk, printed a new edition in an 8vo. volume, in which the text, a literal copy of the Vatican manuscript, was accompanied with an English translation, and with many diffuse and often unnecessary notes. A very useful edition has been more recently published by the Historical Society, edited by Mr. Joseph Stevenson, with extensive collations of different manuscripts.

Editions of Nennius.

In the collections by Gale and Bertram; see the table of editions of Gildas, p. 134.

The "Historia Brittonum," commonly attributed to Nennius; from a manuscript lately discovered in the Library of the Vatican Palace, at Rome; edited in the tenth century, by Mark the Hermit; with an English version, &c. By the Rev. W. Gunn, B.D. 8vo. Lond. 1819.

Nennii Historia Britonum. Ad fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stevenson. 8vo. Lond. 1838. (By the Historical Society.)

ST. COLUMBANUS.

During the period in which the light of science seems to have been dim in Britain, the sister island sent forth a great man, some of whose writings were afterwards in repute among the Anglo-Saxons, and of whom our information is much more authentic, because the scene of his labours lay principally in France and Italy. The life of Columbanus was written not many years after his death, by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, who collected his anecdotes of the Irish saint from the mouths of those who had been his companions.* This narrative carries so much the air of truth in

* This life was printed by Mabillon, in the Acta Sanctorum Ord. Bened. sæc. II. It had been previously published under the name of Bede, in the Cologne edition of that writer's works, vol. iii. p. 199. A copy is given anonymously in a fine MS. in the Harleian collection, No. 2802. Mabillon used several MSS. He has also printed a metrical life from a history of the Abbots of Bobbio, by Frodoard, which is a paraphrase of parts of the narrative of Jonas; as well as a collection of miracles performed by the saint after his death, written by a monk also of Bobbio, in the tenth century. The accounts of the persecution of Columbanus, by Brunehaut, given in Fredegarius and Aimoinus, are clearly taken, with a little variation, from Jonas; of whose narrative, also, the life in Capgrave is a mere abridgment.

all its details, that we cannot withhold from it a large share of credit.

Columbanus was born in the first half of the sixth century, probably in or before the year 543, in the province of Leinster in Ireland. That island was then thinly peopled; and it is said to have been free from the savage turbulence which desolated most of the other countries of the west, and by which it has been too frequently visited in later times. Contemporary writers describe the Irish of the sixth and seventh centuries as a simple and harmless people; superstitious and enthusiastic, they rushed in multitudes to embrace the monastic life, and their shores afforded a frequent refuge to those who sought to pass their days in contemplative solitude. With them originated a mystic school that was soon carried over to the continent, and propagated extensively in Gaul and Italy. The accounts of the peaceful disposition of the native Irish may possibly be exaggerated; but the hermit or the monk could find in Ireland the uninterrupted solitude which he thirsted after, his sacred character was a sufficient protection against the rudeness of the natives, and the land was soon filled with monasteries, so that it became known as the island of saints. The famous abbey of Bangor, on the coast of Ulster, is said to have been founded by St. Congal, about the year 555. Columbanus became a member of this fraternity, probably a few years only after its formation; before his entrance there, we are told that he had been well instructed in grammar and letters; yet nothing is said of studies or books during his residence in the monastery, but we learn that he spent there many years in pious exercises. At length, as his biographer informs us, the desire came upon him of visiting foreign lands, and he obtained the reluctant consent of his superior to leave the place. Twelve monks of Bangor

accompanied him, and they sailed to Britain, where they made a temporary stay; but Gaul was the ultimate object of their mission. Gaul was at this period subjected to the rule of the Franks. They had been long converted to Christianity; but the zeal of the clergy was weakened under the influence of political dissensions, and the people had naturally become as lukewarm as their teachers. The country itself was torn by the jealousies and intrigues of two women, who have obtained a fearful celebrity in history under the names of Brunehaut and Fredegonde. All these circumstances opened a wide and promising field for the exertions of Columbanus, who preached diligently the rigid discipline and mystic doctrines of the Irish church. The fame of his sanctity soon attracted the notice of nobles and princes; for it was the age in which, except in the case of men who acted under the immediate impulse of violent passions, the mysterious influence of religion awed those who seldom listened to its dictates.

From the year 567 to 575, France was divided into three kingdoms, under the three sons of the first Chlotaire. To the south-east, reaching down to the coast of the Mediterranean, lay Burgundy, governed by Gontran; to the north, separated from the Germans by the Rhine, was Austrasia, of which Sigebert, the husband of Brunehaut, was king; and to the west, Neustria, which possessed all the sea-coast from the mouth of the Loire to the borders of Flanders, and which was governed by Chilperic and his queen Fredegonde. The three brothers were seldom at peace. In the latter of the years abovementioned, the kings of Austrasia and Neustria, after having agreed to a truce with Gontran, turned their arms against each other, and Sigebert was slain by assassins in the pay of Fredegonde, who four years later committed another murder on the person of her own husband.

The first of these monarchs was succeeded by his son Childebert; and the crown of Neustria descended to a second Chlotaire, the infant son of Chilperic. By the death of Gontran, in 593, the two kingdoms of Burgundy and Austrasia were united under Childebert, to be separated again after his decease in 596 under his sons Theuderic and Theudebert.

Columbanus was honourably entertained either at the court of Burgundy, or at that of Austrasia, it is not quite certain which, and at his own instance he was allowed to settle with his twelve companions in the wild and unfrequented woods of the Vosges, between these two kingdoms, and bordering upon the country inhabited by the pagan Suevi, since called Switzerland. The date of his arrival in Gaul is uncertain. Jonas says that it was Sigebert who invited him to his kingdom, in which case he must have been there before the year 575, a date which agrees very well with Mabillon's supposition * that he left Ireland when about thirty years of age. But in this point the biographer in some degree impairs his own credit by stating that Sigebert was king at the same time of Austrasia and of Burgundy, an united dominion which only belonged to Childebert after 593, which is certainly too late. It also appears afterwards that the residence of the saint was within the limits of Burgundy, and it has therefore been supposed that Gontran was his patron. But it is possible, that in such an unsettled age, the boundary of the two kingdoms was not always the same; and the circumstance last mentioned might easily lead a monk of Bobbio in the seventh century, who was committing to writing the tradition of the place, into the error of giving Sigebert two kingdoms instead of one.

When Columbanus and his fellow missionaries came to

* See Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. Sec. II. p. 9, note.

the Vosges, they sought for a spot which should be agreeable by its situation and at the same time far removed from the haunts of men, and they found the ruins of an ancient town or station, which tradition named Anagrates,* and whose site is now occupied by the hamlet of Anegray. In this solitary place they fixed their residence; the ruins, probably, with a little labour, were made to afford them a shelter, and the neighbouring woods and streams furnished their scanty table. When these failed, their wants were supplied by the voluntary offerings which were brought from a distance by those who wished to conciliate their prayers. With Columbanus the love of solitude still increased with its indulgence; and he quitted even the little society of his monks, to wander through the woods alone, in search of a wilder scene. At a distance of about seven miles from Anegray, he found a cave among the rocks, which possessed all the attractions he was in search of, and in which he took up his abode. From this place he continued to govern the little fraternity he had left behind him. But the latter soon began to increase; for many of the Franks were emulous of sharing the monastic life in the company of this band of Irish adventurers. The presence of their spiritual ruler thus became necessary. The ruins, too, which had served all the purposes of the first settlers, were no longer sufficient; and they determined to seek a more convenient spot in the same wild district in order to build a monastery.

* Erat enim tunc vasta eremus Vosagus nomine, in qua castrum erat dirutum olim, quod antiquorum traditio Anagrates nuncupavit. Jonas, p. 10. We shall find Columbanus, as well as the other early monks and missionaries, constantly settling among the ruins of ancient towns. Thus Donatus, a disciple of Columbanus, afterwards bishop of Besançon—qui post pro amore B. Columbani ex ipsius regula monasterium virorum construxit, quod Palatium nuncupavit ob veterum monimenta murorum. Jonas, p. 14, 15.

At a distance of eight miles from their first settlement, they found the ruins of an extensive and magnificent Roman town, furnished with noble baths and other buildings, the neighbourhood of which was strewed thick with marble statues and other remains.* The name of this town had been Luxovium, which, with the gradual change of the language, has been moulded down to the modern name of Luxeuil. Among these ruins the wandering brotherhood built their monastery, which was soon crowded with monks; for even the nobles of the land voluntarily became its inmates; and Columbanus was obliged to erect another building at a little distance from the former, in a charming situation, well watered by pleasant streams, which was then known by the significant name of Fontanæ. The priory of Fontaines continued down to a late period to be dependent on the abbey of Luxeuil.

Columbanus superintended his monks both at Luxeuil and at Fontaines, and frequently directed and assisted them in their agricultural labours; but he seems to have spent his time chiefly in wandering alone in the forest, and he often travelled as far as his old cave among the rocks, and there remained several days in perfect solitude.

The life which Columbanus passed at Luxeuil was entirely agreeable with the contemplative and anchoretic character of the Irish and British churches; it was innocent, but we cannot say that it was equally useful. He left his home and sought distant lands, not to find occa-

* Invenitque castrum firmissimo munimine olim fuisse cultum, a supradicto loco distans plus minus octo millibus, quem prisca tempora Luxovium nuncupabant: ibique aquæ calidæ cultu eximio constructæ habebantur. Ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicina saltus densabat, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta paganorum tempora honorabant. Jonas. pp. 12, 13.

sions of converting those who were in darkness, but to live in solitude, and limit the circle of his exertions within stone walls. Although he dwelt many years on the immediate confines of the pagan Germans, they were left in their ignorance for more than a century, till the light of the gospel should be carried to them by the active and enterprizing zeal of the Anglo-Saxons, who, while Columbanus was at Luxeuil, remained unconverted in the very bosom of his own native church. Bede's remark on the want of zeal in the British Christians was not unmerited.*

Twelve years after Columbanus had settled at Luxeuil, his solitude was troubled by the bitterness of religious persecution. The Irish and British churches held certain opinions derived from the East, relating to the period of celebrating the festival of Easter, which differed materially from those countenanced by the church of Rome. These opinions had been carried by Columbanus into the solitude of the Gallic forests, and he carefully imparted them to his disciples. But the Frankish bishops held strictly the Romish tenets, and as the influence of the Irishman increased, they looked with jealousy on the diffusion of opinions which they considered to be heterodox. They tried to convince him that his doctrine was wrong, but they only provoked him to write tracts in its defence. They next called a general council of the Frankish clergy to judge his cause; but, instead of appearing before them, Columbanus wrote an eloquent letter, which is still preserved, stating his determination to continue in the doctrine which had been handed down to him from his forefathers, and praying that the advocates of each party might be allowed to act on their own convictions without

* See before, p. 128, note.

molesting the other. "I," he says, "am not the author of this diversity of opinion, but have come from afar to this land, for the sake of Christ our common lord and master." And he earnestly prays that "I may be allowed with your good will and charity to continue my silent life in these woods near the bones of our seventeen brethren who are dead, as I have already been suffered to live among you these twelve years." . . . "Let Gaul receive us all, for we have one kingdom promised, and one hope of our calling in Christ." We have no information on the steps taken by the council. It appears that the reputation of sanctity which Columbanus then enjoyed, and his influence among the Franks, were sufficient to cover his want of orthodoxy in this particular, and we do not find that he was afterwards persecuted for his opinions. The church of Rome admitted him into the calendar, but the manuscripts of his controversial writings have been lost or destroyed.*

Columbanus had thus, it appears, escaped the evils attendant upon religious persecution; but the bishops were not reconciled to him, and a few years later the power which had probably been exerted to screen him, was thrown by his own imprudent zeal into the same scale with his enemies. Brunehaut, who had passed through many vicissitudes after the death of her husband, and had narrowly escaped with her life from the intrigues of Fredegonde, driven from the court of Theudebert, had taken shelter at that of her other grandson, Theuderic. Fredegonde herself was now dead, "old and full of years," according to the expression of the Chronicle of St. Denis. Theuderic, after having sent away his wife in disgrace, lived amid a troop of concubines; and the old historians tell us that Brune-

* See, particularly, on this point, Michelet, Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 269.

haut supported her own ascendancy by encouraging and administering to his pleasures, fearing that the influence of a legitimate wife might interfere to lessen her own.

The monastery of Luxeuil was within the limits of Burgundy. The sanctity of its abbot began to be regarded as an assurance of the protection of heaven over the kingdom where he resided, and Theuderic showed his satisfaction at possessing him, by frequent visits and other marks of respect. The saint ceased not to reproach him with his behaviour to his unoffending queen, and with his scandalous life, and set before his eyes the impending vengeance of heaven. The king at length began to listen to his exhortations, and promised to be guided by his advice. But the report of their conversations reached the ears of Brunehaut; she saw the danger with which she was threatened, and she prepared to avert it. The Roman clergy were her friends; and it was but recently that she had received at her court the missionaries who were on their way to convert the Anglo-Saxons, and on that occasion had been presented with important marks of the good will of the pope. One day Columbanus went to the palace of Brunehaut, with the intention, as it is said, of pacifying her anger. The queen came to meet him, leading by the hands two children, Theuderic's sons by one of his concubines, on whom she prayed the saint to bestow his blessing, for, she said, they were of royal lineage. According to the laws and customs of the Franks, indeed, they might without injustice inherit the kingdom. But Columbanus regarded them with disdain, and sternly replied, "These children shall never wield a sceptre, for they are bastards, and the offspring of sin." The offended queen instantly left the place, and Theuderic discontinued his visits to the monastery. On another occasion, when the king was with his court at the village of Epoisses, he

was informed that the abbot was at the door, and refused to enter the house in which he was lodged. Theuderic sent his servants to offer him meat and refreshment, but he rejected their friendly overtures; "the Scriptures," he said, "bear witness that the offerings of the wicked are not agreeable to God, and therefore his servants ought not to receive the gifts of those whom they know he hates."

Theuderic's patience was now at an end; and, urged on by Brunehaut, by his courtiers, and even by his bishops, he ordered Columbanus to be arrested, and conducted to Besançon. The abbot quitted with regret his favourite woods, and, finding he was not kept very strictly, he escaped from his guards, and returned to Luxeuil, which he refused to quit again unless dragged from it by force. At length, however, the king's agents carried him back to Besançon, and from thence they conducted him hastily to Nantes (Namnetis), from which place they were ordered to send him back to his native land. The servants of Theuderic had treated Columbanus with harshness; he left his monastery amid the tears and lamentations of the whole brotherhood, but none were allowed to accompany him except two or three Irish or British monks; at Orleans they encamped on the bank of the river, and he was not permitted to enter the church; at Tours it was with the greatest difficulty that he found an opportunity of paying his devotions at the shrine of St. Martin. At Nantes they had to wait for an outward-bound ship, and then his conductors put Columbanus on board, and returned immediately to Burgundy.*

* These events are said to have taken place in 607. Jonas (p. 21) says that he had then resided twenty years at Luxeuil, which would carry back the date of the foundation of the monastery to 587, and that of his dispute with the bishops on the subject of Easter to 599. The author of the

The ship which should have carried Columbanus to Ireland, was driven back by contrary winds, and he was permitted to land. He was now in the kingdom of Neustria, and he repaired immediately to the court of Chlotaire. The king of Neustria, when he heard of his arrival, rejoiced in his own good fortune; he doubted not but the denunciations which Columbanus had uttered against his persecutors would be fulfilled; he embraced the Irish abbot with exultation, and urged him to seek a spot within the limits of his kingdom, and to found a monastery which should erase from his heart the regret he had experienced in being torn from Luxeuil. But the mind of Columbanus was now turned towards Italy, and he consented only to accept letters of recommendation to Theudebert, through whose kingdom he intended to pass. The servants of Chlotaire conducted him to Paris, and from thence to Melun (Meldense oppidum), where he was received by one of the nobles of Austrasia, and was by him conducted to the court of Theudebert. After his exile from Burgundy, Columbanus seems still to have held a secret correspondence with his monks who were left behind; from Nantes he wrote

Life of St. Salaberga, in the Acta SS. Ord. Bened. ib. p. 423, says it was Childebert who gave him permission to found the monastery, which must be an error, as he did not become king of Burgundy till A.D. 593. It may be observed, that the dispute about Easter perhaps was the real cause of Brunehaut's enmity towards him, but after her death the Roman party blackened the character of the queen who had supported them, in order to conceal the heterodoxy of their saint. Neither Jonas, Fredegaire, Aimoin, or any of the old writers mention his peculiar opinion on this point; and, had it not been contained in some insulated fragments of his works accidentally preserved, this fact would have been only a matter of surmise. The writer of the Life of St. Agilus (Act. SS. Ord. Ben. ib. p. 318) says that Brunehaut was hostile to Columbanus principally because he would not allow women to come to the monastery, and because he had refused to receive a visit from her; on which she obtained an order that the monks should not be permitted to quit their house.

them an exhortatory letter which is still preserved;* and when he arrived in Austrasia, he found that many of them had already quitted Luxeuil and fled into the kingdom of Theudebert, who had welcomed them, to use the words of the biographer, as though they had been part of the spoil of his enemies (velut ex hostium præda). Yielding at last to their wishes and the prayers of the king, he laid aside for the present his design of visiting Italy, and agreed to build a monastery in Austrasia; but his love of solitude was unchanged, and he resolved to cross the Rhine, and fix his residence amid the wild country on the borders of the unconverted Germans.

According to Jonas, Columbanus and his monks went first to Mentz (Maguntiacum),† and there embarked in a boat upon the Rhine. They proceeded up this river, until they came to its junction with the Aar, on the borders of the Suevi, where they quitted it, and continued their voyage up the river Limmat (Lindimacus) into the lake of Zurich. The country on which they now entered pleased them much, and, crossing over land, they halted at Zug (Tucconia). They were here in the midst of the country inhabited by the wild Suevi, a fierce and lawless people, who had scarcely heard of Christians except as enemies, and who were slaves to the darkest and most revolting superstitions.‡ The monks went about preaching to their new neighbours, in the hope of converting them to a better

* Bibl. Max. Patrum, tom. xii. p. 26.

† Ad urbem quam Maguntiacum veteres appellarunt. p. 2[illegible]. Part of our information relating to the adventures of Columbanus among the Suevi, is furnished by Walafrid Strabo's life of St. Gall, written in the eighth century, and printed in the same volume of the Acta Sanctorum Ord. Bened., which contains the Life of Columbanus.

‡ Porro homines ibidem commanentes, crudeles erant et impii, simulacra colentes, idola sacrificiis venerantes, observantes auguria et divinationes, et multa quæ contraria sunt cultui divino superstitiosa sectantes. Vita S. Galli, p. 231.

creed, but their exertions were not attended with much success; and their imprudent zeal caused so much irritation that they were obliged to seek safety in immediate flight.*

From Zug, Columbanus went to Arbon (Arbona) on the lake of Constance. Here they found a Christian priest named Willimar,† by whom they were informed that at the further extremity of the lake lay the ruins of a Roman town named Brigantium, or Brigantiæ, the site of which is occupied by the modern town of Bregentz.‡ They went thither, and found, among other ancient buildings, a ruined chapel dedicated to St. Aurelia, which Columbanus afterwards rebuilt, and about which they immediately began to erect their huts. The Suevi were still troublesome, but they were at last, though with difficulty, pacified; the monks founded their monastery, and remained in it three years.

Meanwhile desperate enmity continued between the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia. The kingdom of the latter was invaded, he was defeated and afterwards murdered, and his territory overrun by the troops of Theuderic and Brunehaut. Columbanus did not think himself safe from his ancient persecutor even in the wilds of Switzerland, and he prepared for flight. At times he thought of

* Vita Sti. Galli, p. 231.

† Vita S. Gal. p. 232.

‡ In hac solitudine locus quidam est antiquæ structuræ servans inter ruinas vestigia, ubi terra pinguis et fructuariis proventibus apta, montes per gyrum excelsi, eremus vasta et imminens oppido, planities copiosa victum quærentibus fructum laboris non negat. Vita S. Gal. ibid. where it is called Brigantium. Jonas, who omits much of the detail of Columbanus's wanderings among the Suevi, says that he had been recommended to go to Bregentz when at the court of Theuderic. Inde requisivit locum, quem favor omnium laudabilem reddebat intra Germaniæ terminos Rheno tamen transmisso, oppidum olim dirutum, quod Brigantias nuncupabatur. Jonas, p. 25.

going to convert the Slavi or the Veneti, but he was now aged, and sought repose rather than new scenes of exertion. He said that in his sleep an angel had appeared to him, and, holding out a map of the world, pointed to Italy as his destination; thereupon hastily crossing the Alps, he arrived at Milan, and presented himself before the court of Agilulf king of the Lombards. A part of his monks went with him; but St. Gall objected to the journey, feigned illness, and, with the rest, remained at Bregentz. This place seems now to have been no longer tenable against the attacks of the barbarians; and St. Gall and his companions returned to Arbon, and founded not far from it the famous monastery, which has ever since borne his name.

Columbanus was kindly entertained by the king of the Lombards, and remained some time at Milan, where he wrote a book against the Arians,* which, with his other controversial works, appears long since to have perished. Whilst thus occupied, he was informed that in the solitary wilds of the Apennines, amid the ruins of the Roman town of Bobium, there stood a deserted church which had been dedicated to St. Peter the apostle. The love of retirement again came upon the abbot in all its force; he easily obtained King Agilulf's authority to take possession of the place; and finding that it was a pleasant spot, surrounded with woods and fertile lands, and with streams that abounded in fish, in the year 615 he laid there the foundations of the monastery of Bobbio. He rebuilt the church of St. Peter, or rather, according to one authority, he built another of wood.†

Gaul was at this period the scene of a new revolution. The nobles of Burgundy and Austrasia began to be tired of the oppressive rule of Brunehaut, and conspired against

* Contra quos etiam libellum florenti scientia edidit. Jonas, p. 28.

† Mirac. S. Columbani, a monac. Bobiens. sæc. x. ap. Mabillon. ib. p. 40.

their sovereign. Chlotaire, encouraged, as it was said, by the former prophecies and counsels of the exiled abbot of Luxeuil, and invited probably by the conspirators, invaded the dominions of Theuderic with the army of Neustria, and utterly extirpated the royal race. The aged Brunehaut, after having been exposed in triumph to the gaze of the soldiery, was tied by the arm and leg to the tail of a wild horse, and at its first start her brains were scattered by a blow of its hoof. The old historians exult over the bloody retribution which visited the persecutors of Columbanus. Chlotaire, now monarch of the united kingdoms of the Franks, sent to Bobbio to invite its abbot to revisit the scene of his earlier labours. But Columbanus returned the messengers with a congratulatory epistle, wherein he expressed his joy at the king's successes, gave him many good counsels, and begged him to be a kind patron to his foundation at Luxeuil, but excused himself from coming in person. The weight of years, indeed, began to press heavily upon him. He spent his latter days in endeavouring to reconcile the Irish and Romish churches, and more than one letter to the pope on this subject are preserved among his works. It appears to have been at Bobbio that he composed his Latin poems; and in one of them, in which he complains much of the evils of "sad old age" (tristis senectæ), he informs us that he had completed his seventy-second year,

Nunc ad Olympiadis ter senos venimus annos.*

Under these accumulating evils, in the same year in which he came to Bobbio, on the twenty-first day of November, 615, Columbanus sank into the grave. He was buried in the church which he had so recently built, and his memory long clung to the neighbourhood. In the tenth century,

* Columbani ad Fedolium.

the peasantry showed the marks of his feet which they pretended had been miraculously imprinted in the rock.*

The influence of the abbot of Luxeuil and of Bobbio did not end with his life. The monasteries which he had founded sent forth into the world many famous bishops and abbots, and during the seventh century the "rule" of St. Columbanus spread itself almost as rapidly and extensively as that of St. Benet; but early in the eighth century the Benedictines gained the upper hand, and the rival order not only declined, but was soon forgotten. Mabillon has attempted to show that the two orders were materially the same, although the passages he quotes assert the contrary. It is very singular that while the Irish system was thus gaining ground in France, the British church in England was gradually falling before the Romanised Anglo-Saxons.

It is difficult, with what remains of his writings, to form any just estimate of the degree of learning possessed by Columbanus. His poems show that he was not ignorant of ancient history and fable, and that he had read attentively a certain class of authors; and his letters on the period of observing Easter prove that he was well acquainted with the theological works then in repute. It has been conjectured from a passage at the end of one of his letters, that he could read Greek and Hebrew; but the inference seems hardly authorised by the observation which gave rise to it.

The works of Columbanus which have always found the greatest number of readers, and have been most frequently printed, are his poems. Yet they are few in number, and of no great importance. His style is simple, and not incorrect; but there is little spirit or vigour in his versification. He frequently imitates the later poets;

* Mirac. S. Columbani, p. 41.

and, like them, is too partial to dactylic measures, a fault which strikes us in his hexameters, most of which have a dactyl for their base. He also possesses another fault in common with all the poets of the middle ages, the frequent use of unnecessary particles, inserted only to help the verse. The subject of Columbanus's poetry never varies; all his pieces are designed to convey to his friends his exhortations to quit the vanities and vexations of the world, which he seems to have thought would be longer retained in their memory, if expressed in metre. The first of these poems is addressed to a person named Hunaldus, and consists of only seventeen lines, the initial letters of which form the acrostic *Columbanus Hunaldo,* and thus leave no doubt of the author, or of the friend to whom it was directed. The three first lines will perhaps be considered a sufficient specimen of the whole; they are these:—

> Casibus innumeris decurrunt tempora vitæ,
> Omnia prætereunt, menses volvuntur in annis;
> Labitur in senium momentis omnibus ætas.

The second poem is addressed to a person named Sethus, and commences with the following avowal of the author's modest pretensions in poetry:—

> Suscipe, Sethe, libens, et perlege mente serena
> Dicta Columbani fida te voce monentis;
> Quæ licet ornatu careant sermonis honesti,
> Vota tamen mentisque piæ testantur amorem.

The object of Columbanus in this piece is chiefly to dissuade his friend from avarice and the love of lucre. One manuscript gave the reading *Hunalde* instead of *Sethe,* and it has been asserted, apparently without much reason, that it is a continuation of the foregoing poem, and ought to be joined to it.* The third poem of Columbanus,

* Another MS. reads *Suscipe quæso libens.*

addressed to a bishop named Fedolius (ad Fedolium episcopum), is another exhortation against the love of money. It is written in jingling adonics, like some of the metres of Boethius, and consists principally of examples taken from ancient mythology, illustrative of the many great evils to which this sin had given rise. Columbanus informs us that the kind of verse in which he was now writing was not then very frequently used, and he even thinks it necessary to give in the poem itself directions and rules for its composition. He says that it was invented by Sappho:—

Sed tamen illa
Trojugenarum
Inclita vates
Nomine Sapho
Versibus istis
Dulce solebat
Edere carmen.

If Columbanus, as Goldasti imagines, intended by the epithet *Trojugenæ* to allude to the early political connexion between Lesbos and the Troad, he shews considerable acquaintance with ancient history and geography, although a correct writer would not call Sappho *a Trojan poetess.* This poem ends with some hexameters, in which the author makes known his age in a verse already quoted, and tells us that he was sick and old when he wrote it, which seems to countenance the supposition that it was composed during his last illness, and would therefore settle beyond a doubt the date of his birth. The next article in the printed editions of the poems of Columbanus, is an epigram on the fair sex, possessing no great merit, and conjectured by Goldasti to have been written while he was suffering under the persecutions of Brunehaut. The fifth in order of the poems of Columbanus, is the one which

occurs most frequently in manuscripts,* and it is sometimes given anonymously. In some manuscripts it bears the title *Libellus cujusdam sapientis, et, ut fertur, beati Columbani.* It is written in hexameters, and is accurately described by the title *Monosticha*, for it consists of a series of proverbial sentences, each of which is comprised within a single line. This poem was first printed by Martin Delrio, who, finding it in a manuscript without an author's name, supposed it to be the work of Aldhelm. Others have attributed it to Alcuin, and it has been printed among his works. This poem commences with the following line:

Hæc præcepta legat devotus, et impleat actu.

Another poem which goes under the name of Columbanus, is entitled *Rythmus de Vanitate et Miseria Vitæ Mortalis*; it is written in a kind of popular rhyming measure which will be best understood by the following lines, forming the first tetrastich or stanza:

Mundus iste transit,
Et quotidie decrescit:
Nemo vivens manebit,
Nullus vivus remansit.

The claims of Columbanus to this piece have been with good reason disputed, for it seems to be the work of a later date, and it accordingly appears only in some editions of his works.† It belongs to a class of poems which was very popular in different languages at a more recent period, and which is well known in old English under the title of "How the goodman taught his son."

* It will be found in the British Museum, in MS. Cotton. Julius D. II. and in MS. Cotton. Cleop. C. VIII. fol. 34, v°. (a fragment only), both written in England, and the latter certainly in the ninth century, and perhaps early in it.

† This poem will be found in Fleming, and in the Bibliotheca Patrum. It was also printed by Archbp. Usher in his Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, 4to. Paris, 1665.

The poems of Columbanus were first printed collectively by Goldasti in his *Parænetici veteres*, 4to. Insul. 1604. Some of them also appeared in the *Antiquæ Lectiones* of Canisius. They were again printed by Patrick Fleming in his *Collectanea*, 8vo. Ausburgh, 1621, reprinted at Louvain in 1667. They were appended by Daumius to his edition of Catonis Disticha, 8vo. Cygn. 1672; and were inserted in the eighth volume of the Bibliotheca Magna Patrum, fol. Par. 1644, and in the twelfth of the Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum, Lyons, 1677.*

The prose writings of Columbanus have also been frequently printed. They will be found in several of the collections just enumerated, but most complete in the two Bibliothecæ Patrum, and in the Collectanea of Fleming, and in this latter book they are accompanied with a very copious commentary. They consist of the Regula Sti. Columbani and the lesser penitential, already quoted, of *Instructiones*, or short discourses on theological subjects, of a larger penitential, entitled *Liber de Mensura Pœnitentiarum*, of a Discourse *de Octo Vitiis principalibus*, and of five letters. The last are his most interesting works, on account of the information which they give us on the dispute between the Romish and Irish churches. An extract from the second of these letters, addressed to the council of the Gallic bishops and quoted in a former page, will serve as a specimen of the prose style of Columbanus (Max. Bibl. Patt. vol. xii. p. 25.)

"Unum itaque deposco a vestra sanctitate, ut cum pace et charitate meam comportetis insipientiam, ac superbam, ut aiunt quidam, scribendi præsumptionem quam necessitas extorsit, non vanitas, ut ipsa probat vilitas; et quia hujus diversitatis author non sim, ac pro Christo Salvatore

* For a further account of the poems of Columbanus, the reader is referred to Polycarp Leyser, Hist. Poet. Medii Ævi, vi. pp. 176—181. See also on the poetry of Columbanus, Bahr, Die christlichen Dichter und Geschichtschreiber Roms, 8vo. Carlsruhe, 1836, p. 79.

communi domino ac Deo in has terras peregrinus processerim, deprecor vos per communem Dominum, et per eum, qui judicaturus est vivos ac mortuos adjuro, si mereamini ab eo agnosci, qui multis dicet: *Amen dico vobis, quia nunquam novi vos*, ut mihi liceat cum vestra pace et charitate in his silvis silere et vivere juxta ossa nostrorum Fratrum decem et septem defunctorum, sicut usque nunc licuit nobis inter vos vixisse duodecim annis, ut pro vobis, sicut usque nunc fecimus, oremus ut debemus. Capiat nos simul, oro, Gallia, quos capiet regnum cœlorum, si boni simus meriti. Unum enim regnum habemus promissum, et unam spem vocationis in Christo, cum quo conregnabimus, si tamen prius hic cum eo patiamur; ut et simul cum eo glorificemur. Ego scio quod multis superflua videbitur hæc mea loquacitas; sed melius judicavi, ut et vos sciretis quæ et nos hic tractamus et cogitamus inter nos: hi sunt enim nostri canones, Dominica et Apostolica mandata; hæc fides nostra est: hæc arma, scutum, et gladium, hæc apologia: hæc nos moverunt de patria; hæc et hic servare contendimus, licet tepide, in his usque ad mortem perseverare, et oramus, et optamus; sicut et seniores nostros facere conspeximus. Vos vero, patres sancti, videte quid faciatis ad istos veteranos pauperes et peregrinos senes: ut ego arbitror, melius vobis erit illos confortare, quam conturbare. Ego autem ad vos ire non ausus sum, ne forte contenderem præsens contra Apostoli dictum dicentis: *Noli verbis contendere*, et iterum: *si quis contentiosus est, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesia Dei.* Sed confiteor conscientiæ meæ secreta, quod plus credo traditioni patriæ meæ juxta do[ctrinam] et calculum 84 annorum, et Anatolium ab Eusebio Ecclesiasticæ historiæ authore Episcopo, et Sancto Catalogi scriptore Hieronymo laudatum, Pascha celebrare, quam juxta Victorium nuper dubie scribentem, et ubi necesse erat nihil definientem, ut ipse in suo testatus est prologo: qui post tempora D. Martini, et D. Hieronymi, et Papæ Damasi, post centum et tres annos sub Hilaro scripsit. Vos vero eligite ipsi quem sequi malletis, et cui melius credatis juxta illud apostoli: *omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.* Absit ut ego contra vos contendam congrediendum, ut gaudeant inimici nostri de nostra Christianorum contentione, Judæi scilicet, aut heretici sive pagani gentiles. Absit sane, absit; alioquin aliter nos potest convenire, ut aut unusquisque in quo vocatus est, in eo permaneat apud Dominum si utraque bona est traditio: aut cum pace et humilitate sine ulla contentione libri legantur utrique; et quæ plus Veteri et Novo Testamento concordant, sine ullius invidia serventur."

It is unnecessary to say more on the works of Columbanus which are lost, or on those which he is supposed to have written, than to refer to the article in the Histoire Littéraire de France, tom. iii. p. 505.

Collections in which the Remains of Columbanus have been edited.

Georgius Fabricius Poetarum Veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana. 4to. Basil. 1564, p. 779.—The Epist. to Hunaldus.

Henricus Canisius; Antiquæ Lectiones. 4to. 1601, tom. i. p. 779.—Ed. Basnage, fol. Antwerp. 1725, vol. 1. Appendix, pp. 769—780.—The Monostichon and the poem addressed to Hunaldus.

Goldasti Paræneticorum Veterum Pars I. 4to. Insul. 1604, pp. 41—180.—The poems (except the Rythmus) with numerous notes, and the regula.

Vincentius Barralis; Chronologia sanctorum et aliorum virorum illustrium, ac Abbatum Sacræ Insulæ Lerinensis. 4to. Lugdun. 1613, p. 113.—The poem addressed to Hunaldus. The life by Jonas is also inserted in this volume.

Patricii Flemingi Hiberni Collectanea Sacra, seu S. Columbani Hiberni Abbatis, Magni Monachorum Patriarchæ, Monasteriorum Luxoviensis in Gallia, et Bobiensis in Italia, aliorumque, Fundatoris et Patroni, nec non aliorum, &c. Acta et Opuscula. 8vo. Ausb. 1621—Ed. Tho. Sirinus, fol. Lovan. 1667. pp. 4—181.—The two Regulæ; Sermones sive Instructiones; De Modo Pœnitentiarum; the Instructio de Octo Vitiis Principalibus; the letters; and all the poems; with very copious notes. The Life by Jonas, and the Miracles, are added.

Thomas Messingham; Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum, seu Vitæ et Actæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ. fol. Paris. 1624. pp. 403—411.—The Regula—one of his pieces under the tit. Homil. 5. de fallacia vitæ humanæ.—The Monostichon.—The Epistle to Hunaldus.—The life by Jonas, and the Miracles, are given in this volume.

Usher; Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. 4to. Dublin, 1632. pp. 7—18.—4to. Paris, 1665, pp. 4—11.—Herbornæ Nassov., 4to. 1696. pp. 5—15.—One of his prose letters, the Rythmus de Vanitate, the poems addressed to Hunaldus and Fedolius.

Eugenius Toletanus, ed. Sirmondi, 8vo. Paris, 1619. Re-edited by Rivinus, 8vo. Lips. 1651.—In Jacobi Sirmondi Opera Varia, tom. ii. p. 908, fol. Paris, 1696.—The poem addressed to Hunaldus.

Lucas Holstenius; Codex Regularum Monasticarum et Canonicarum, 4to. Rom. 1661, p. ii. pp. 88, 89.—Fol. Aug. Vindel. 1759, tom. I. pp. 166—179.—The Regula and the Penitential of Columbanus.

Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus. Ed. a C. Daumio. 8vo. Cygneæ, 1672. p. 223—236.—All the poems except the Rythmus.—pp. 237—266, notes on Columbanus.

Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Vol. xii. fol. Lugd. 1677, pp. 1—37.—All the printed works, taken from Fleming's edition. The works were also published in the Bibliothecæ Patrum of Cologne and Paris.

SECTION II.—ANGLO-SAXON WRITERS BEFORE BEDE.

WILFRED.

MANY years had elapsed after the settlement of our Saxon forefathers in the isle of Britain, and many even after their conversion to Christianity, before the appearance of an Anglo-Saxon writer. The interval was occupied by the great movements of colonization and conversion. The Saxons first landed in the Isle of Thanet about the year 449, and within a short period established a kingdom in Kent. Some years after, in 477, Ælla, with another body of Saxons, landed at the Roman port of Anderida (called by the Saxon historians Andredes-ceaster), and founded the kingdom of the South Saxons, the limits of which were nearly identical with those of the modern county of Sussex. Towards the latter end of the same century, the kingdom of the West Saxons, extending westwards from Sussex towards Devonshire and Cornwall, was founded by a new colony under Cerdic; and about the same time were formed the smaller and less powerful states of the East and Middle Saxons, the names of which are still preserved in those of Essex and Middlesex. Whilst the Saxon colonies were strengthening themselves in the southern parts of the island, another people of the same family, the Angles, came in great numbers to the north-eastern coasts. The kingdom of East Anglia, comprising the modern counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and part of Cambridgeshire, was formed about the middle of the sixth century; and other colonies had already laid the foundations of a powerful state to the north of the Humber, which, under the general name of Northumberland, was subdivided into two kingdoms named, from the British tribes who previously held them, Deïra and Bernicia, the

former extending from the Humber to the Tees, the other from this latter river to the Frith of Forth, and having on its frontier the Scots, Picts, and Britons of Strathcluyd. As the Saxons and Angles occupied the maritime districts of the island, the Romanized Britons retired from the coasts into the midland districts. Their borders, which were termed *mearce*, or the *March*, appear to have been encroached upon continually by different Saxon chieftains, until the March-land was at length extended over the interior of the island as far as the borders of the mountaineers of Wales, where this appellation has been preserved down to the present day. This extensive territory, in which the Saxons were intermingled with the original population in the same manner as the Franks were mixed with the older inhabitants of Gaul, became a kingdom under the title of Mercia, after the middle of the sixth century.

The Saxons had remained a hundred and fifty years unconverted, when, at the end of the sixth century, St. Augustine landed on the same spot which had first received the followers of Hengist. Kent, the oldest of the Saxon kingdoms, was the first to receive the light of the gospel, and Christianity was soon carried into Essex and Middlesex. Its progress towards the west was slow. When Ælla landed in Sussex, he was soon acknowledged as the Bretwalda, or chief of the Saxon kings in Britain; but after his death the kingdom of the South Saxons dwindled into insignificance, and its independence was defended only by the almost impenetrable wealds which separated it from the rest of the island. The kingdom of Northumbria was converted to Christianity by the preaching of Paulinus, about A.D. 625, under Edwin King of Deïra, who had married Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent. Northumbria was at this time the most powerful of all the Anglo-Saxon states; Bede draws a

glowing picture of the peace and prosperity which followed the introduction of Christianity; and for several ages the Northumbrians were the most civilized people in Britain. In 628, Paulinus preached the Gospel to the people of Lincolnshire; but five years afterwards his patron, king Edwin, was defeated and slain in battle at Haethfelth (Hatfield) by the pagan Mercians; and the missionary, to escape their cruel ravages, returned to Kent. Christianity was restored in Northumberland by the piety of Oswald, king of Bernicia. The communication with Kent was slow and precarious, and even there the influence of the gospel was still feeble; so that Oswald was obliged to seek teachers among the Scottish and Irish monks. He invited Aidan from the monastery which had been founded in the isle of Iona by St. Columba, or, as he was more popularly named, Kolumbkil, and made him bishop of Lindisfarne. The zeal of Oswald was not confined within the bounds of his own kingdom; for by his agency, and the active preaching of Birinus, the West Saxons were brought into the bosom of the Church. Sussex, as well as Mercia, still remained strangers to Christianity. Oswald, also, was slain in a battle with the Mercians, at Maserfelth, supposed by some to be Oswestry, on the fifth of August, 642, and was succeeded by his brother Oswiu, who had espoused in second marriage Eanfleda, daughter of Edwin King of Deïra. Whilst Oswiu held his hereditary kingdom of Bernicia, the subordinate kingdom of Deïra was ruled by his kinsman Oswin, who was scarcely inferior to Oswald in piety and zeal.

In all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the first converts to Christianity were found among the nobles and influential persons, and even princes frequently dedicated themselves or their children to the service of the church. But the lower order of the people remained long addicted to their

ancient superstitions. Even in Kent, it was only under Earconbert, who ascended the throne in 640, that the old idolatrous worship was finally proscribed.*

Wilfred was the son of a noble of Bernicia, and was born in the year 634, when Oswald governed Northumbria, and Eadbald the son of Ethelbert was King of Kent.† It was said that his birth was attended by prodigies which foretold his future celebrity. He remained thirteen years in the house of his father; and even then he showed an aptness for learning, and a modesty and discretion, above his age. He was in his childhood instructed in the use of arms, and was taught to serve the cup gracefully and skilfully in the mead-hall. But his mother died, and her place was ill supplied by a step-mother, who treated Wilfred with harshness, deprived him of his toys, and of the handsome dresses in which he delighted to appear before his father's guests, and before the king, till at the age of thirteen or fourteen he left his home, and presented himself at the court of queen Eanfleda. It appears that his beauty and graceful manners had already

* Hic primus regum Anglorum in toto regno suo idola relinqui ac destrui . . . principali auctoritate præcepit. Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 8.

† Eadmer's life of Wilfred, ap. Mabil. Act. SS. Ord. Benedict. p. 197.

The life of Wilfred was written in Latin prose soon after his death by his friend and disciple Eddius: this piece of biography was first printed by Mabillon, in the Acta SS. Ord. Bened., and afterwards more completely by Gale, in his Collection of Historians. It is the latter edition which we quote. Bede, in his History, has given a short sketch of Wilfred's life, which varies a little in some points from the narrative of Eddius. This narrative was paraphrased in Latin verse by Fridegode in the tenth century, whose poem is also printed in the Acta SS. Ord. Bened., as well as another life of Wilfred written by Eadmer of Canterbury at the beginning of the twelfth century. Eadmer professes to have compiled his work partly from Bede and partly from a life of Wilfred by Odo archbishop of Canterbury, in the tenth century, which is perhaps the same as that by Fridegode. Eadmer was followed by William of Malmsbury, who, in his work *de Pontificibus*, has given a long account of Wilfred, taken almost entirely from Eddius.

attracted the notice of the queen, who received him into her household.

Wilfred, even at this time, began to show a strong disposition towards a religious life, and at his own desire, before he had completed his fourteenth year, queen Eanfleda appointed him to attend upon a noble Saxon of Oswiu's court, named Cudda, who, labouring under the infirmities attendant upon old age, had determined to quit the world, and to take upon him the direction of a small monastery on the barren isle of Lindisfarne.* Here Wilfred applied himself diligently to the study of the Scriptures and of the books of the church; but he was instructed in the Scottish doctrines and observances, and when he understood the differences between the two churches, he became anxious to know better the foundations on which each party rested its peculiar tenets, and was seized with the desire of visiting Rome. He again repaired to the court of Eanfleda, and acquainted her with his design; and she gave him letters of recommendation to her brother Earconbert king of Kent, at whose court he was to wait for an opportunity of pursuing his voyage. This occurrence took place about the year 653, when Wilfred had reached the age of nineteen. After having remained some months in Kent, where he already began to show his growing partiality towards the Romish doctrines, he was associated with another youth of noble family, celebrated in Ecclesiastical History by the name of Benedict Biscop, who was desirous of visiting the Eternal City; and Earconbert gave them companions and a ship

* The condition of Lindisfarne is described by Alcuin (De Sed. Ebor.) in two lines—

Est locus oceano dictus cognomine Farne,
Insula fontis inops, frugis et arboris expers.

to proceed on their pilgrimage.* They went by sea to Lyons in France, where Wilfred accepted the hospitality of Delfinus, archbishop of that city, while Biscop proceeded on his way without interruption.

Delfinus was a rich and powerful prelate; pleased with the ingenuous manners and the talents of his visitor, he would have retained him at his court, and offered to give him his niece in marriage, to adopt him as his son, and to endow him with authority over "a large part of Gaul."† Wilfred however declined the offers of the archbishop, and, after a short stay, followed his former companion Biscop to Rome. He there met with the archdeacon Boniface, one of the apostolical councillors, who introduced him to the pope, and devoted several months to his instruction, teaching him the grounds of the Roman mode of calculating Easter, and other points of ecclesiastical discipline, which were either not received or not understood in his native land.‡ When he left Rome, Wilfred repaired again to Lyons, and remained three years under the hospitable roof of the archbishop; from whom he received the tonsure, and who again declared his intention of adopting him as the heir to his fortune and influence. But the friendly designs of the prelate were cut short by his misfortunes. The rule of the Merovingian dynasty was drawing near to its term; and the kingdom of the Franks

* Bede, H. E. v. 19. Eddius, c. 3. Eadmer, p. 199.

† Bonam partem Galliarum, ad regendum in sæculum. Eddius, cap. 4. Partem Galliarum non minimam illi regendam committeret. Bed. H. E. v. 19.

‡ A quo quatuor Evangelia Christi perfecte didicit, et paschalem rationem, quam schismatici Britanniæ et Hyberniæ non cognoverunt, et alias multas ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ regulas Bonifacius Archidiaconus, quasi proprio filio suo, diligenter dictitavit. Eddius, c. 5.— Cujus magisterio quatuor Evangeliorum libros ex ordine didicit, computum paschæ rationabilem, et alia multa, quæ in patria nequiverat, ecclesiasticis disciplinis accommodata, eodem magistro tradente, percepit. Bed. ib.

was torn by the ambition of the great officers of the household, which prepared the way for the usurpation of Charles Martel.* Delfinus was seized and massacred by order of the queen-mother, Bathilda, and the mayor of the palace, Ebroinus; and Wilfred only escaped the fate of his patron by his youth and beauty, and the circumstance of his being a stranger.

When Wilfred returned to England, the kingdom of Northumbria was governed by Oswiu, who had associated with himself on the throne his son Alchfrid. Both these princes were distinguished by their piety and love of the church; both were favourable to the Catholic doctrines,† and they rejoiced at the arrival of an Anglo-Saxon who had been instructed at Rome. Wilfred obtained the friendship and confidence of Alchfrid, the first fruits of whose liberality was a grant of lands at a place called Stanford, or Æt-Stanforda. Soon afterwards the king gave him the monastery which had been founded by some Scottish clergy at the place then called In-Hrypis, or, according to the Saxon form, In-Hrypum, now Ripon; which they had been obliged to quit, because they would not consent to follow the Roman ordinances.‡ This occurred in A.D. 661; three years afterwards Wilfred was ordained a priest in his monastery at Ripon,§ by

* The Chronicles of St. Denis speak of the condition of the Frankish monarchy at this time in the following strong terms:—Dès lors commença le royaume de France à abaissier et à décheoir, et le roy à fourlignier du sens et de la puissance de ses ancesseurs. Si estoit le royaume gouverné par chambellens et par connestables qui estoient apelés mestres du palais; et les roys n'avoient tant seulement que le nom, et de rien ne servoient fors de boire et de mengier.

† Fuere autem utrique reges in christiano religione ferventes, ecclesiarum diligentisimi cultores, et catholicarum doctrinarum studiosissimi auditores, amatores, sectatores. Eadmer, Vit. Wilf. (ap. Mabill.) p. 200.

‡ Bed. H. E. v. 19. Eddius, cc. 8, 9.

§ And Ceadda and Wilferð væron gehadode. Chron. Sax. ad A.D. 664. The Saxon Chronicle, under the date 656, states that Wilfred was present at the consecration of Medeshamsted (Peterborough), which occurred in 664, as a *priest*, and signed its first charter as one of the witnesses.

Agilberct, a foreigner who was at that time bishop of the West Saxons.

During Agilberct's visit to Ripon, was held the celebrated conference of Streaneshalch (Whitby, in Yorkshire).* The Scots and Britons, and, at least, a large portion of the Irish, fixed the day for the celebration of Easter, as has already been observed, by a different mode of computation from that which was taught at Rome, and they professed to have received their rule by tradition from the days of the Apostles, and justified it by the practice of St. John the Evangelist. In some years the day fixed by the rival modes of computation coincided, and the difference generally was not great; but in the year which followed Wilfred's ordination (665, A.D.) the two parties would have had to celebrate two distinct Easters. The see of York had at this time been vacant many years, and the kingdom of Northumbria was allowed to remain under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops of Lindisfarne. King Alchfrid was desirous of enforcing the doctrines respecting Easter, as well as on other subjects, which Wilfred had brought from Rome; but he found a determined opponent in Colman, then bishop of that island. The two parties met in the monastery of Streaneshalch (Whitby), about the month of March 664; there were present, besides many other persons, Colman, with the abbess Hilda, on the part of the Scots, and on the other side Agilberct and Wilfred; and the two kings, Oswiu and Alchfrid, presided. Colman began, and defended his opinions by the constant tradition and custom of his countrymen, and the example of Anatolius and St. Columba, or, as he was more popularly named, Kolumbkil. Wilfred spoke for the Roman party; he explained the grounds on which his computation

* The best account of this conference is given by Bede, H. E. iii. 25. It is related more briefly by Eddius, cap. 10; and by Eadmer, p. 201, 202.

was founded; opposed to the example of Columba, that of St. Peter and his successors; and to the usage of the Scots, that of the whole Catholic world. King Alchfrid put an end to the discussion: "Do you believe," he said to the Scots, "that Christ gave to St. Peter the keys of heaven?" "We do," was the reply. "Do you then think," said the king, "that your Kolumbkil is greater in heaven than St. Peter?" "Certainly not," Colman answered. "Then," said Alchfrid, as he dissolved the meeting, "I shall follow the precepts of Peter, lest, when I arrive at the gates of heaven, I find them locked against me." Colman, unconvinced, resigned the bishopric of Lindisfarne, and retired to his native land; and his see was given to another Scot named Tuda, who had embraced the Roman doctrines. Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, who was also present, returned to his diocese a convert to Wilfred's party.*

The latter part of the year 664 was distinguished by a grievous pestilence, which carried off Tuda, the new bishop of Lindisfarne, shortly after his consecration; and the king of Northumbria determined to provide more efficiently for the spiritual administration of the extensive territory over which he ruled, by filling the vacant see of York. The choice fell upon Wilfred; who with reluctance, as his biographers tell us, accepted the bishopric, but insisted upon being consecrated by Agilberct, who had quitted England and was then bishop of Paris; for after his departure, and the death of the Kentish bishop Deusdedit (June or July, 664), the only bishop in England, who had been canonically ordained, was Wina, bishop of the West Saxons.† Wilfred accordingly repaired to Gaul; he was attended thither by an honourable retinue, and was consecrated

* Bed. H. E. iii. 26. † Eadmer, p. 202.

with much pomp, at Compeigne (Compendium), in the presence of no less than twelve Catholic bishops.* He remained in Gaul three years; and on his return an incident occurred which presents a remarkable picture of the times in which he lived. The ship on which he was embarked had scarcely reached the open sea, when a fearful storm arose, which, driving it far out of the destined course, left it a-strand on the coast of the South Saxons. This people, as yet unconverted, exercised with ruthless barbarity the custom which has left its traces up to recent times in the "wreckers" of our southern and western shores; they claimed the ships which were thrown within their boundaries as lawful prizes, and the men found in them as slaves; and they hastened to seize upon both.† Wilfred and his companions, in all but a hundred and twenty men, defended themselves bravely, and beat away the aggressors three successive times. The latter had brought with them one of their priests, who, placed on a mound in the middle of the assailants, expected to strengthen the arms of his countrymen, and to paralize the Christians, by his incantations; and the biographers of Wilfred relate exultingly how one of the bishop's servants, like another David confronting the pagan Golias, threw a stone from his sling which struck the enchanter on the forehead, and stretched him dead upon the ground. When the pagans, encouraged by the arrival of their king with a powerful force, were preparing for a fourth attack,

* Non minus quam duodecim episcoporum Catholicorum. Eddius, c. 12. Convenientibus plurimis episcopis. Bed. H. E. iii. 28. Wilfred was at this time thirty years of age.

† Indigenæ adhuc gentili errore devincti advolant; navem et omnia quæ in ea erant in jus suum vindicare volentes; et id propositi obstinato corde tenentes, ut aut captivarent, aut morti sibi resistentes involverent. Eadmer, p. 204. Gentiles autem cum ingenti exercitu venientes navem arripere, prædam sibi pecuniæ dividere, captivos subjugatos deducere, resistentesque gladio occidere, incunctanter proposuerunt. Eddius, c. 13.

the tide fortunately came in sooner than it was expected, and a prosperous wind carried Wilfred to Sandwich, where he landed.

At Sandwich Wilfred learnt that, during his absence, the see of York had been given to Ceadda, a disciple of Aidan, a pious and zealous monk, who had recently come from Ireland, and who had been consecrated by the bishop of the West Saxons, Wina, and two British prelates.* Wilfred retired to his monastery at Ripon, from whence he was invited into Mercia by king Wulfhere; and he spent the three years which followed his return to England in Mercia or in Kent, where he was called by Ecgbert to administer the affairs of the diocese left vacant by the death of Deusdedit. In 669, the arrival of Theodore confirmed the triumph of the Roman party. The new metropolitan annulled the election of Ceadda, because he had been appointed to a see which was not really vacant, and because he had been consecrated uncanonically by British bishops. Ceadda obeyed without a murmur; and, in reward for his piety and zealous labours, was reconsecrated by Theodore to the bishopric of Lichfield, which had been offered him by Wulfhere.†

No sooner had Wilfred obtained possession of the see of York, than he distinguished himself by his zeal in introducing into his diocese the elegancies and improvements which he had observed on the continent. He may be regarded as the first patron of architecture among the Anglo-Saxons.‡ The church of York, which was in ruins and open to the inclemencies of the weather, he repaired

* Adsumptis ergo duobus de gente Brittonum episcopis, qui contra scripta canonum erant ordinati, eumdem Ceaddam pari modo inordinate ordinavit. Eadmer, p. 203.

† Bed. H. E. iv. 3 ; v. 19. Eddius, c. 15. Eadmer, pp. 204, 205.

‡ The most detailed accounts of Wilfred's buildings are given in Eddius, cc. 16, 17, 22.

and embellished; and it is particularly observed that he roofed it with lead, and filled the vacant windows with *glass*, a substance previously unknown to his countrymen. He built a new church at Ripon, of smoothed stone (polito lapide), adorned with various columns and porticoes (variis columnis et porticibus), which excited the admiration of his contemporaries; and at its dedication, the brother kings Ecgfrid and Aelwin (sons of Oswiu, who, as well as Alchfrid, was now dead), with the principal nobles of the kingdom, held a riotous and continuous feast during three days and three nights, a custom which was borrowed from the older observances of paganism.* Not long afterwards, he built a church at Hagustaldes-ea (Hexham), which in beauty and extent far exceeded any other building the Saxons had yet seen in their island; and one of his biographers asserts that there was nothing equal to it "on this side of the Alps."† While Wilfred was occupied in adorning his diocese with the monuments of peace, the young king Ecgfrid was engaged in sanguinary wars, which ended by establishing his supremacy over the neighbouring kingdom of Mercia.

Ecgfrid's war with Mercia was followed by a dispute with his bishop, which, even through the partial accounts of the historians who were the advocates of the latter, reveals to us the remarkable fact that at its first introduction into

* Magnum convivium trium dierum et noctium reges cum omni populo lætificantes. Eddius, c. 17. See Lappenberg, Gesch. von Engl. i. 170.

† Eddius gives a curious description of this early church—Cujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum, columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam, et variis linearum anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum, per cochleas circumductam, non est meæ parvitatis hoc sermone explicare . . . . . neque ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus. Vit. Wilf. c. 22.

our island the papal influence produced the same collisions between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions which were the cause of so many evils in after times. The old writers give various reasons for the sudden enmity between Ecgfrid and Wilfred. They say that the king had been offended by the part which the bishop took, in persuading his first queen Etheldrytha to immure herself in a nunnery. They describe his second wife, Ermenburga, as a proud intriguing woman, who, irritated by the admonitions of Wilfred, did her utmost to prejudice the mind of her husband against him, by dwelling on the bishop's secular glory and riches, the multitude of his monasteries, the extent of his buildings, and the numerous retinue which waited upon him, equipped and armed like the attendants on kings.* The conquests of Ecgfrid had, indeed, enlarged the bishop's influence no less than his own, and the victorious monarch might expect to see his own power eclipsed by that of his subject. This he determined to anticipate by dividing his bishopric into three; and he sent for Theodore from Kent, who acquiesced in the change. Wilfred resisted; and we are told by the historians that, in his absence, Ecgfrid and Theodore carried their measure into effect, and superseded him entirely by the election of three, or according to others, two new bishops. The bishop of Northumbria hastened to the king's presence, and protested indignantly against the injustice that had been shown towards him in condemning him unheard; but the king, while he avowed that Wilfred's only crime was resistance to his will, refused to listen to his com-

* Enumerans ei eloquenter sancti Wilfridi episcopi omnem gloriam ejus secularem, et divitias, nec non cœnobiorum multitudinem, et ædificiorum magnitudinem, innumerumque sodalium exercitum, regalibus vestibus et armis ornatum. Ib. c. 24.

plaints, which he threatened to carry to Rome.* The division of the Northumbrian diocese was evidently a part of Theodore's ecclesiastical policy; and under his directions, similar changes were made in the two great bishoprics of the Mercians and the East Anglians. Winfred, bishop of Mercia, made the same resistance, and was banished from his see.†

The biographers dwell at length on the vexations and persecutions to which Wilfred was exposed on his way to Rome, whither he directed his steps the same year (677). They tell us that his enemies, supposing that he would go through Gaul, had written to king Theuderic and the mayor Ebroinus to arrest him on his way; and that, deceived by the similarity of the name, the latter seized upon Winfred of Mercia, who was also going to make his complaint to the pope, but who, on his escape, appears to have returned to his native land and retired to a monastery.‡ But Wilfred was carried by a westerly wind out of his direct course, and was honourably received by the pagans of Friesland, to whom he first preached the Christian religion, and thus prepared the way for the labours of his disciple Willibrord. He remained in Friesland until the year following, when he ventured into Gaul, where he was received by Dagobert II., and, pursuing slowly his route, reached Rome in safety in the year 679. The pope (Agatho, who was elected in that year) approved his conduct; § but when, after again escaping many perils on the

* The account of this transaction is given at length in Eddius, c. 24, and Eadmer, p. 208. See also Bede, H. E. iv. 12, 13; v. 19; and Lappenberg, Gesch. v. Eng. i. p. 172.

† Bede, H. E. iv. 6. Eddius, c. 25. Lappenberg, ib.

‡ Bede and Eddius, ib. The Wulfridus episcopus de Liccitfelda of the latter writer must be the Wynfridus of Bede, though Bede does not say that he went to the continent.

§ Wilfred's negotiations with the pope occupy chapters 29—32 of the narrative by Eddius.

road, Wilfred returned to England, neither Ecgfrid nor Theodore appear to have been willing to receive the apostolical injunctions, and the king committed him to prison, first at a town called by Eddius "Broninis," and afterwards at "Dyunbaer," from which latter place he was after a while allowed to escape, and he fled to Mercia. Driven from place to place by the influence of the powerful monarch of Northumbria, the Bretwalda Ecgfrid, Wilfred found no safety until he threw himself into the wild country which formed the frontiers of the South Saxons, and sought a refuge among the same pagans, from whom a few years before he had narrowly escaped with his life.

Wilfred thus became the means of converting the last pagan tribe which remained in the island. The South Saxons were a barbarous people; and they had been equally defended against the aggressions of their neighbours, and cut off from the humanizing influence of an intercourse with more civilized nations, by the natural boundaries of their territory.* Bede informs us that they were ignorant even of the art of fishing, although their rivers and seas abounded in fish. The king of this little state, Adilwalch, and his queen Eabae, had both been baptized, the former in Mercia, the latter in her native land, the district of the Hwiccas (Worcestershire), though they seem to have relapsed into idolatry. At the time when Wilfred came to the court of Adilwalch, the only individuals in this petty kingdom who professed the faith of Christ were a Scottish (or Irish) monk named

* Eddius, c. 40. Fridegode, p. 191, gives the following description of the South Saxons at this period—

Gens igitur quædam, scopulosis indita terris,
Saltibus incultis et densis consita dumis,
Non facilem propriis aditum præbebat in arvis:
Gens ignara Dei, simulacris dedita vanis.

Dicul, and five or six brethren, who lived secluded in a small and poor monastery at Bosanham (Bosham, near Chichester), surrounded by the forest and the sea, at the western extremity of the South-Saxon territory. Wilfred with a few faithful companions, found protection and friendship at the hands of the king of Sussex, and by his exhortations restored him and his queen to the faith in which they had been baptised; and in the course of a few months their example was followed by their subjects. Wilfred taught the latter many of the arts of life with which they had previously been unacquainted; and Adilwalch gave him the little peninsula of Seles-æ, or the isle of seals, (Selsey), where he founded a monastery.* While the influence of Wilfred was greatest among the South Saxons, his protection was sought and obtained by Caedwalla, a young chieftain of the race of the West-Saxon kings, who had been driven from his heritage and lived an outlaw among the wilds of Chiltern and Andredes-wald. The conversion of Sussex was commenced in 681; a few years afterwards, Caedwalla had not only recovered his kingdom of Wessex, but he had also conquered and joined to it Sussex, and had extended his power over part of Kent. Wilfred, the protector of his earlier years, was now received as his friend; and he added to the number of his converts the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, who had been subdued by his patron. The latter gave one fourth of the island to the church.†

Archbishop Theodore was now aged and feeble. Wilfred's active services in the south had given him a claim upon the gratitude of the church, on the fate of which he was destined, as might even then be seen, to exercise a

* Eddius, ib. Bede, H. E. iv. 13; v. 19. Bede gives a legend relating to this event, which was current in his time, but is not found in Eddius.

† Bede, H. E. iv. 15, 16. Eddius, c. 41. Lappenberg, Gesch. v. Eng. i. 179.

powerful influence; and Theodore called him to London; where, in presence of bishop Ercenwald he acknowledged that Wilfred had been driven from the see of York without sufficient reason, and intimated his wish to appoint him his successor in that of Canterbury. Wilfred accepted the archbishop's friendship, and their reconciliation was followed by his recall to York, and by the restoration of his bishopric to its former integrity. But he referred the question of succession to the see of Canterbury to be decided by the bishops, who were not favourable to him, for after Theodore's death the see remained vacant two years, and was then given to a monk of Glastonbury named Berctwald.* Ecgfrid, slain in a battle with the Picts in 685, had been succeeded on the throne of Northumbria by his illegitimate brother Aldfrid, who was celebrated for his piety and learning. But the harmony between him and Wilfred was not rendered more lasting by these qualities; for in 692, Berctwald was no sooner elected to the see of Canterbury, than he was called to preside at another council to judge between the king and his bishop.† The old cause of dispute had been revived; Wilfred defended the temporal privileges and possessions of his see, and Aldfrid wished to erect Ripon into a new bishopric, distinct from that of York. Wilfred sought shelter from his sovereign's anger at the court of Ethelred of Mercia.‡

It is evident that the cause of Wilfred was not popular.

* Bede, H. E. v. 8, 19. Eddius, c. 42.

† Eddius, c. 45. Eadmer, p. 219. There is a discrepancy here between Eddius and Bede: the former, who seems to have been present at the council, says Berctwald was there as archbishop; Bede, on the contrary, says Berctwald had not yet taken possession of the vacant see, and that he was absent from England. Non enim eo tempore habebat episcopum Cantia, defuncto quidem Theodoro, sed necdum Berctualdo successore ejus, qui trans mare ordinandus ierat, ad sedem episcopatus sui reverso. Bed. H. E. v. 11.

‡ Eddius, c. 44.

The object which he pursued with unceasing perseverance was the reduction of his country to an entire dependence in ecclesiastical matters on the court of Rome; and, to adopt a distinction made by one of the most profound historians of the present age, the Anglo-Saxons at that time, although they had ceased to be anti-catholic, were still anti-papal.* Most of the Anglo-Saxon prelates were assembled on this occasion. They met in a plain called by the old writers Eastrefeld, or on-Estrefelda.† They required Wilfred, who was present, to submit to the constitutions of Theodore; he in reply, reproached them sharply with their resistance during twenty-two years to the orders of the pope, and asked them with what face they dared to oppose to those orders the decrees of their archbishop.‡ The bishop of York was deposed, and excommunicated, on the ground of disobedience and contumacy; and his biographer, who was with him during his troubles, relates with indignation the contempt to which his friends were exposed by the victorious party.§ Wilfred fled from

* Lappenberg, Gesch. von Engl. i. 182. Die Angelsachsen, nachdem sie nicht länger antikatholisch waren, stets antipäpstlich verblieben.

† The latter name is given in Eddius, c. 45, the former by Eadmer, p. 22, both of whom give detailed accounts of the proceedings at this council. In the title to the chapter in Eddius the place where the council was held is named Swine's-path (æt-Swinapathe).

‡ Deinde multis et duris sermonibus eorum pertinaciam obstinationis, quia per viginti et duos annos apostolicam potestatem non timuerunt contentiose resistendo exercere, increpavit: et interrogavit eos, qua fronte auderent statutis apostolicis ab Agathone sancto et Benedicto electo et beato Sergio sanctissimis papis ad Britanniam pro salute animarum directis præponere aut eligere decreta Theodori Archiepiscopi, quæ in discordia constituit. Eddius, c. 45.

§ Inimici vero qui hæreditatem sancti pontificis nostri sibi usurpabant, annuntiantes nos esse a sorte fidelium segregatos, et eos qui nobiscum participarent, in tantum communionem nostram execraverunt, ut si quispiam abbatum vel presbyterorum nostrorum a fideli de plebe rogatur, refectionem suam ante se positam signo crucis Dei benediceret, foras projiciendam et effundendam, quasi idolothytum, judicabant; et vasa Dei quibus nostri

the council to his tried friend the king of Mercia; and thence he hastened to Rome, to invoke again the protection and interference of the pope.

Archbishop Berctwald had also sent a mission to Rome, to counteract Wilfred's influence. He accused him of obstinate disobedience to the laws of the Anglo-Saxon church. But Wilfred's exertions were appreciated by the pope; he was supported by his ancient instructor, Boniface; he accused the Anglo-Saxon bishops of opposition to the papal government; and he was not only absolved, but was armed with letters from the pope to the kings Ethelred and Aldfrid. Wilfred appears to have remained several years at Rome, and on his return he was detained in France by a dangerous illness; so that when he reached England (A.D. 705), the king of Mercia had exchanged his throne for a monastery. Wilfred was received in Kent by Berctwald, who was awed by the decision of the pope; and the friendship of Ethelred was continued by his successor Coenred; but Aldfrid remained firm in his resistance to the Romanists. The latter survived Wilfred's return but a few months (perhaps only a few weeks, for he died the same year); and the friends of Wilfred represented his death as a judgment of heaven for his opposition to the pope, and were probably the authors of a report that he had repented in his last moments. The same year, under his successor Osred, a new council was held on the south bank of the river Nidd, at which, by a compromise between the contending parties, peace was restored to the Anglo-Saxon church.*

Peace, indeed, was now necessary to Wilfred, whose

vescebantur, lavari prius, quasi sorde polluta, jubebant, antequam ab aliis contingerentur. Eddius, c. 47. It will be observed that in this part of his narrative Eddius speaks in the first person plural.

* The most detailed account of these transactions is given by Eddius, cc. 48—58.

energies were breaking under the effects of his incessant labours and the near approach of old age. He was not restored to his bishopric, and he appeared no more in public affairs. In the fourth year after the council of the Nidd (A.D. 709), on his return from the performance of his pious duties in the church of Ripon, he was seized with a sudden indisposition. He called together his monks, and made his will, which is preserved by Eddius; and then he began his last progress through his diocese, intending to visit the king of Mercia. He crept, rather than journeyed, to his monastery at Oundle (in-Undalum), and there with calm resignation yielded up his spirit. His body was carried to Ripon, where it was buried, and where it remained till the tenth century, when it was translated to Canterbury by the directions of Archbishop Odo. Bede has preserved his epitaph.*

To Wilfred may be justly conceded a distinguished place amongst the most eminent prelates of the Anglo-Saxon church. To him the Anglo-Saxons owed the final establishment of Christianity throughout the island; it was he who, grasping them all within the circle of his powerful influence, joined so many contending kingdoms into one church, and thus he was instrumental in producing that universal peace and unity which Bede describes at the conclusion of his History. His piety was sincere; in performing the duties of his calling he seems to have been no less humble than zealous, and we are told that he went about on foot preaching the gospel to the ignorant people. But he seems to have kept almost a royal household; and we can hardly acquit him of being often too overbearing towards his fellow bishops, and towards the secular princes. His ambition, perhaps, as well as his conviction, made

* Eddius, cc. 59—63. Eadmer, pp. 223—225. Bed. H. E. v. 19. Chron. Sax. in anno 709.

him the unflinching advocate of the papal supremacy; and he did much towards establishing a closer intercourse than had previously existed between this country and Rome. In his chief object, he was only partially successful; the Anglo-Saxon church was only half papal, until after the period when Dunstan continued the work which Wilfred had left unfinished.

Of Wilfred's learning we are less able to judge. He had received his education before the arrival of Theodore, but he had completed it at Rome. To his patronage of learning and the arts we must probably attribute in a great measure the flourishing state of literature in Northumberland during his latter years and after his death, when its schools produced such men as Bede and Alcuin. There are no writings now extant which bear the name of Wilfred: with the exception of Aldhelm, indeed, there are few remains of any English writers previous to Bede. But different writers have attributed to the Bishop of York, with what reason it is not now easy to say, treatises on Easter and the tonsure, the written acts of the council of Whitby, letters, and a rule for his monks.*

* Tanner, Bibl. Angl. scripsit Wilfridus de Paschæ Celebratione, lib. i. De Clericorum Tonsura, lib. i. Edicta Pharensis Synodi, lib. i. Epistolas, lib. i. De Regulis Monachorum, lib. i.

BENEDICT BISCOP.

It has been already observed that Wilfred, in his first visit to Rome, was accompanied by a noble Saxon named Benedict Biscop. Concerning this person, whose influence on Anglo-Saxon civilization, though more peaceful and unostentatious, was not less extensive and important than that exercised by Wilfred, our information is almost entirely derived from his disciple Bede.* This writer tells us that Biscop also was a native of Northumbria, and that he had been a courtier of Oswiu, who had enriched him with extensive gifts of land.† Eddius, almost the only ancient author who mentions him independently of Bede, gives us his patronymic, Baducing.‡ Bede says that when he went with Wilfred to Rome, (A.D. 654) he was about twenty-five years of age,§ which would fix his birth to about 629.

When we say that Biscop's influence was peaceful, we do not mean to say that he was inactive. His life was one of constant wandering. Whilst Wilfred was contending with the Saxon prelates, and moving from synod to synod, his early friend was enriching his country with the literary stores of the continent, and was forming in the silence of his monasteries the scholars who were to be the glory of the succeeding age.

* Bede mentions him but cursorily in his Ecclesiastical History; but he gives the details of his life in his lives of the early abbots of Wearmouth and Yarrow, first published at Dublin by Ware, whose edition we use. Simeon of Durham (Decem Scriptores, col. 94) and William of Malmsbury (Script. post Bed. p. 21) copy Bede.

† Bed. Vit. Abbot. Wiremuth, p. 22.

‡ Ducem nobilem et admirabilis ingenii quemdam Biscop Baducing inveniens. Eddius, V. Wilf. c. 3.

§ Annos natus circiter viginti et quinque fastidivit possessionem caducam ut adquirere posset æternam. Bed. Vit. Ab. Wir. p. 22.

It is probable that Biscop returned from Rome soon after the synod of Whitby (664). On his arrival in Northumbria, he found king Alchfrid making preparations to visit the metropolis of the Catholic world, for the rage for this pilgrimage which soon afterwards manifested itself so strongly among the Anglo-Saxons, was then beginning to be felt. We are not told what was the object of the king's journey; but he seems to have been easily dissuaded from it, and Biscop, whom he had chosen to be his companion, was entrusted with the mission, and reached Rome a second time in the papacy of Vitalian, probably about the year 665.* He spent there some months in the same studious pursuits which had occupied him during his earlier and longer residence; † and then went to the abbey of Lerins, in Provence (ad insulam Lirinensem), where he became a monk, received the tonsure, and was instructed in the monastic discipline. After residing two years at Lerins, he returned to Rome, where he arrived in 668, to be associated with Theodore and Adrian who were setting out on their mission to England. They arrived safely in Kent; and no sooner had Theodore taken possession of his bishopric, than Biscop was made abbot of the monastery of St. Peter, better known afterwards as that of St. Augustine, at Canterbury. Scarcely, however, had he ruled over the Kentish monks two years, when he resigned his charge to the abbot Adrian, and made a third voyage to Rome.

It is not improbable that Biscop had been invited by Coinwalch king of the West Saxons, who was his friend, to settle in Wessex, and his object in this journey seems to have been to bring home the literary treasures which he had already in part collected. At Rome he bought or

* Bed. ib. p. 23.

† Et non pauca scientiæ salutaris quemadmodum et prius hausta dulcedine. Id. p. 24.

received as gifts many books,* and he went thence to Vienne in France to take others which he had left in the care of his friends. But he reached England just as the king of Wessex died; † and, changing his course, he repaired to Northumbria, where king Ecgfrid, glad to secure within his kingdom the numerous books and relics which he had brought with him,‡ gave him land near the mouth of the Wear, on which he founded a monastery. Coinwalch died in 673; and in 674 Biscop laid the foundation of his monastery of Wearmouth.§

Having thus begun the foundation of his monastery, Biscop went early in the following year to Gaul, to seek masons who were skilful in building in stone after the Roman manner to construct his church; || and he prosecuted his work with so much vigour that it was completed in the space of another year. He then sent to Gaul for glaziers, and adorned the church and monastery with glass windows, then a novelty among his countrymen.¶ In that country also he obtained the utensils, ornaments, and vestments for the use of the new foundation, because those which were to be bought in England were of an in-

* Tertium de Britannia Romam iter arripiens solita prosperitate complevit, librosque omnis divinæ eruditionis non paucos vel placito pretio emptos, vel amicorum dono largitos retulit. Bed. ib. p. 26.

† Sed ipso eodem tempore immatura morte prærepto. Bed. ib. p. 27.

‡ Quot divina volumina, quantas beatorum apostolorum sive martyrum Christi reliquias attulit. Id. p. 28.

§ We have Bede's authority for this date. The historian was born at the place, and at the foundation of the monastery, according to this date, was in his second year. The Peterborough Chronicle printed in Sparke (Hist. Angl. Script. p. 3.) places the date of this event three years earlier. Anno DCLXXI. Benedictus Biscob monasterium ad ostium Wiri fluminis fundat.

|| Oceano transmisso, Gallias petens, cæmentarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit. Bed. ib. p. 27.

¶ Proximante ad profectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britanniis catenus incognitos, ad cancellandos ecclesiæ porticuumque et cænoculorum ejus fenestras, adducerent. Id. p. 28.

ferior quality; and, not content with these, after having established his monks at Wearmouth, he went to Rome about the year 678 to seek what Gaul itself was not capable of furnishing, and to obtain at the same time a papal bull of privileges for his monastery. He returned to England a little before the synod of Heathfield (680).* Bede again points out the vast number of books which the abbot of Wearmouth brought on this occasion from Rome to England,† as well as many reliques, and numerous paintings, designed at the same time to embellish his church, and to present to the eyes of those who might be too ignorant to read, the principal portions of Scripture lore. In the middle of the vault he placed the picture of the Virgin and the twelve apostles, extending from wall to wall; the southern wall was adorned with pictures taken from the Gospel history; while the northern wall was similarly decorated with representations of the visions of St. John as described in the Apocalypse.‡ On this journey, and perhaps also on former occasions, Biscop was accompanied by Ceolfrid, his friend and his fellow labourer in the building of the monastery;

* Johannes . . . . qui *nuper* venerat a Roma, ... duce reverentissimo abbate Biscopo, was present at this synod. Bed. H. E. iv. 18.

† Innumerabilem librorum omnis generis copiam apportavit. Bed. Vit. Abb. Wir. p. 29.

‡ Imaginem beatæ Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariæ simul et duodecim apostolorum, quibus mediam et ejusdem ecclesiæ testudinem, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato, præcingeret; imagines evangelicæ historiæ, quibus australem ecclesiæ parietem decoraret; imagines visionum Apocalypsis beati Johannis, quibus septentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quaque versum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus quamvis in imagine contemplarentur aspectum; vel dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent, vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent. Bed. Vit. Abb. Wir., p. 30.

The slight indications given by Bede seem to indicate distinctly a church built in what is termed the Byzantine style, and may be illustrated by the early basilicas still existing in Rome. The reader who would understand the arrangements of the pictures in the church of Wearmouth, is referred to the sections of the ancient church of Santa Maria Nuova at Monreale, given in Hittorf and Zanth's Architect. Mod. de la Sicile.

on his return, he brought with him to England John, the arch-chanter (archicantor) of St. Peter's, and abbot of St. Martin's at Rome.* The object of this man's mission was to examine into the catholicism of the Anglo-Saxons; but he was also the means of introducing the Roman choral service, which he not only taught orally at Wearmouth, but left written directions, long preserved there, of which copies were soon spread over the island.

King Ecgfrid rejoiced in the zeal of his abbot; and, soon after his return from this his fourth journey to Rome, he gave him more land, on the other side of the river Wear, at a place then called Girwi (Yarrow), and Biscop built there a second monastery, dependent upon that of Wearmouth. In this smaller foundation, which he dedicated to St. Paul the apostle, he placed seventeen of his monks, under the management of his friend Ceolfrid. Nine years after the foundation of the larger monastery, in A.D. 685, Biscop entrusted the care of both establishments to one of his monks named Eosterwin, and, taking Ceolfrid with him, left England for the fifth and last time.† He again brought from Rome many books and pictures. Among the latter was a series of illustrations of the life of Christ, which he placed in the church of Wearmouth; and another in which circumstances of the Old and New Testament were compared with each other, as in a picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be sacrificed and Christ bearing the cross; in another Moses raising the brazen serpent in the wilderness placed in juxtaposi-

* Bed. ib. and H. E. iv. 18. Bede's mention of Ceolfrid in this latter place has led his recent editor into the error of making Biscop bring John the Arch-chanter on his return from his *fifth* journey to Rome. (not. in Bed. H. E. p. 288, ed. Stevenson). As Biscop only returned (in company with Ceolfrid) from his fifth journey after the death of Ecgfrid (May 20, 685), John could not in this case have been at the synod of Heathfield (680).

† Bed. Vit. Abb. Wir. pp. 31, 32.

tion with the Saviour elevated on the cross.* These he placed in the church of Yarrow. Biscop also brought with him on this occasion two silk palls "of incomparable workmanship."† On his arrival in England, probably in 686 or early in 687, he found that, during his absence, death had carried off king Ecgfrid, as well as his own sub-abbot Eosterwin, but he could not fail to be well received by the learned king Aldfrid. Biscop was soon afterwards seized with the palsy, under which he languished three years. During his latter days his thoughts ran much upon his library, and he anxiously exhorted his monks to preserve the books carefully, after his death, from loss or injury.‡ Amid his bodily sufferings he frequently spoke with pleasure of the journeys he had made to collect them, and of the foreign sites which he had visited.§ Having appointed Ceolfrid his successor, he died on the twelfth of January 690, sixteen years after the foundation of the monastery of Wearmouth.‖ He was buried at Wearmouth; but, in the tenth century, his bones were translated to Thorney by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester. Bede composed an homily upon his master's memory, which is still preserved.¶

* Nam et tunc dominicæ historiæ picturas quibus totam beatæ Dei genetricis quam in monasterio majore fecerat ecclesiam in giro coronaret. Imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium ecclesiamque beati Pauli nostri de concordia veteris et novi testamenti summa ratione exhibuit. Verbi gratia, Isaac ligna quibus immolaretur portantem, et Dominum crucem in qua pateretur æque portantem, proxima super invicem regione pictura conjunxit. Item serpenti in heremo a Moyse exaltato, filium hominis in cruce exaltatum comparavit. Id. ib. p. 35.

† Pallia duo oloserica incomparandi operis. Id. ib.

‡ Bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advexerat, ad instructionem ecclesiæ necessariam, sollicite servari integram, ne per incuriam fœdari, aut sparsim dissipari, præcepit. Id. ib. p. 38.

§ Bed. Homil. Hyemal. p. 334 (in the Cologne edition of his works.)

‖ Bede, ib. Simeon of Durham, col. 94. Matthew of Westminster erroneously places Biscop's death in 703.

¶ This homily is printed in the seventh vol. of Bede's works (Ed. Col. 1688), among the Homil. hyemales de sanctis, p. 332.

The benefits which Biscop conferred upon Anglo-Saxon civilization, then only in its dawn, were very great. The monastery of Wearmouth, enriched with the treasures he had imported, and adorned by the workmen whom he had invited from the continent, became under his guidance the nursery equally of literature and the arts. Bede tells exultingly how often he had passed the sea, "never" as he says, "returning, like some of his contemporaries, empty or in vain."* At a later period, William of Malmsbury, looking back to the advantages which had resulted from his exertions, praises no less the active zeal which led him to expend so much of his life in travelling to seek books, and architects, and glass-makers, the first of which had been previously rare, and the others almost unknown, among his countrymen, than the desire of bringing to his friends some novelty, the love of country, and the taste for elegance, which beguiled his hours of pain and labour.† The most useful memorial which Biscop left to his immediate successors, was perhaps his library, which afterwards perished amid the depredations of the Danes; his most durable monument is to be found in the writings of his disciple Bede. The library must have been extensive; but we are not informed of what classes of books it was chiefly composed.

* Toties mare transiit, numquam, ut est consuetudinis quibusdam, vacuus et inutilis rediit, sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum, nunc reliquiarum beatorum martyrum Christi venerabile detulit, nunc architectos ecclesiæ fabricandæ, nunc vitrifactores ad fenestras ejus decorandas ac muniendas, nunc cantandi et in ecclesia per totum annum ministrandi secum magistros adduxit, nunc epistolam privilegii . . . apportavit, nunc picturas sanctarum historiarum . . . advexit. Bed. Homil. in Natal. Bened. p. 334.

† Industriam, quod copiam librorum advexerit, quod artifices lapidearum ædium et vitrearum fenestrarum primus omnium Angliam asciverit, totum pene ævum talia transigendo peregrinatus. Quippe studio advehendi cognatis aliquid insolitum amor patriæ et voluptas elegantiæ asperos fallebant labores. Neque enim ante Benedictum lapidei tabulatus domus in Britannia nisi perraro videbantur, neque perspicuitate vitri penetrata lucem ædibus solaris jaciebat radius. W. Walmsb. (in Scriptor. post Bed.) p. 21.

Bede mentions incidentally that it contained a treatise on cosmography,* a subject which seems to have been extremely popular among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. There appears to be no direct authority for the statement made by Warton, and repeated by others, that Biscop brought to England a valuable collection of the best Greek and Latin authors;† but we are justified in believing such to have been the case, by the frequent quotations from their writings that are found in Bede. The works indeed of this author are the best proof of the extent and variety of information to which he had access in the monastery of Wearmouth.

In the same manner we can now only judge of Biscop's literary acquirements by his acknowledged love of books and by the proficiency of his scholars. Leland says that he wrote very learnedly, and ascribes to him a work entitled *Concordantia Regularum,* the object of which was to show that all rules of monastic life agreed or ought to agree with that of St. Benedict. The titles of three other books said to have been written by Biscop are also given by the old bibliographers, all relating more or less to the government or observances of his monks; but it must be confessed that the authority on which they rest is very doubtful.‡

* Cosmographorum codex mirandi operis, quem Romæ Benedictus emerat. Bed. Hist. Abb. Wirem. p. 47. Books on cosmography are again alluded to in an extract from the letters of Boniface, quoted in the introduction to the present volume, p. 91, *note.* The Cosmography of the pseudo-Æthicus appears to have been a popular book among the Anglo-Saxons at an early period, and several early Anglo-Saxon MSS. of it are preserved in our libraries.

† Warton, Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. — Compare the articles on Benedict Biscop in Chalmers and the Biographie Universelle.

‡ Scripsit Concordiam Regularum, lib. 1. Exhortationes ad Monachos, lib. 1. De suo Privilegio, Epist. 1. De Celebratione Festorum totius Anni, lib. 1. Tanner.

CÆDMON.

While men of higher rank and education were labouring to introduce among their countrymen the language and literature of Rome, we find a person rising out of the common orders of the people, under remarkable circumstances, to christianize and refine the vernacular poetry. No name has of late years excited more interest among scholars than that of Cædmon, yet he is not mentioned by any early writer except Bede.*

Cædmon was a native of Northumbria, and lived in the neighbourhood of Streaneshalch (Whitby); he seems, from the account given by Bede, to have performed, at least occasionally, the duties of a cow-herd. We are told that he was so much less instructed than most of his equals, that he had not even learnt any poetry; so that he was frequently obliged to retire in order to hide his shame, when the harp was moved towards him in the hall, where at supper it was customary for each person to sing in turn.† On one of these occasions, it happened to be Cædmon's turn to keep guard at the stable during the night,‡ and, overcome

* Cædmon's story is told in Bed. H. E. iv. 24.

† Unde nonnunquam in convivio, cum esset lætitiæ causa ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille, ubi appropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat a media cœna et egressus ad suam domum repedabat. Bed. ib. This is one of those curious incidents which help to throw light on the domestic life of our early forefathers. Even in Alfred's time manners seem to have been so far changed that he thought it necessary to paraphrase the Latin *cantare* by *to sing to the harp*, in order to explain why the harp was passed round.—And he for-þon oft in ge-beorscipe, þonne þær wæs blisse intinga ge-demed ꝥ hi ealle sceoldan þurh endebyrdnesse be hearpan singan, ðonne he ge-seah ða hearpan him nealæcan, ðonne aras he for sceome from þam symle, ⁊ ham eode to his huse.

‡ Egressus est ad stabula jumentorum, quorum ei custodia nocte illa erat delegata. Bede.—to neata scypene, ðær heorde him wæs ðære nihte beboden. Alfred's version.

with vexation, he quitted the table and retired to his post of duty, where, laying himself down, he fell into a sound slumber. In the midst of his sleep a stranger appeared to him, and, saluting him by his name, said, "Cædmon, sing me something." Cædmon answered, "I know nothing to sing; for my incapacity in this respect was the cause of my leaving the hall to come hither." "Nay," said the stranger, "but thou hast something to sing." "What must I sing?" said Cædmon. "Sing the creation," was the reply; and thereupon Cædmon began to sing verses "which he had never heard before," and which are said to have been as follows: *—

Nu we sceolan herian	Now we shall praise
heofon-ríces weard,	the guardian of heaven,
metodes mihte,	the might of the creator,
and his mod-ge-þonc,	and his counsel,
wera wuldor-fæder!	the glory-father of men!
swa he wundra ge-hwæs,	how he of all wonders,
ece dryhten,	the eternal lord,
oord onstealde.	formed the beginning.
He ærest ge-scéop	He first created
ylda bearnum	for the children of men
heofon to hrófe,	heaven as a roof,
halig scyppend!	the holy creator!
þa middan-geard	then the world
mon-cynnes weard,	the guardian of mankind,
ece dryhten,	the eternal lord,
æfter teode,	produced afterwards,
firum foldan,	the earth for men,
frea ælmihtig!	the almighty master!

Cædmon then awoke; and he was not only able to repeat

* Bede only gives a Latin paraphrase of Cædmon's exordium; and the Anglo-Saxon lines, found in king Alfred's version, have been supposed by some to be a mere re-translation from Bede's Latin. But as a copy of the Saxon text is found in the margin of a MS. of Bede (now in the Public Library at Cambridge KK. 516), supposed to have been written at Wearmouth within two or three years after Bede's death, there seems to be little doubt that they are the original lines.

the lines which he had made in his sleep, but he continued them in a strain of admirable versification. In the morning he hastened to the town-reeve or bailiff* of Whitby, who carried him before the abbess Hilda, and there in the presence of some of the learned men of the place he told his story, and they were all of opinion that he had received the gift of song from heaven. They then expounded to him in his mother tongue a portion of Scripture, which he was required to repeat in verse. Cædmon went home with his task, and the next morning he produced a poem which excelled in beauty all that they were accustomed to hear. He afterwards yielded to the earnest solicitations of the abbess Hilda, and became a monk of her house; and she ordered him to transfer into verse the whole of the sacred history. We are told that he was unable to read, but that he was continually occupied in repeating to himself what he heard, and, "like a clean animal, ruminating it, he turned it into most sweet verse."† Bede informs us that Cædmon's poetry, as it existed in his time, treated successively of the whole history of Genesis, of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, and their entrance into the land of promise, with many other histories taken out of Holy Writ; of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; of the advent of the Holy Ghost and of the doctrine of the Apostles; "he also made many poems on the terrors of the day of Judgment, the pains of hell, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom."

The story of Cædmon forms one of those frequent episodes which give so much interest to the narrative, of the venerable father of English historians. The account

* Veniensque mane ad villicum, qui sibi præerat. Bede. To ðam tungerefan, se þe his ealdormon wæs. Alfred.

† At ipse cuncta quæ audiendo discere poterat, rememorando secum et, quasi mundum animal, ruminando, in carmen dulcissimum convertebat. Bede, ib.

of the poet's death is singularly beautiful. "When the time of his departure approached," says Bede, "he was fourteen days troubled with bodily infirmity; yet so moderately that during all that time he could both speak and walk. There was in the neighbourhood a house in which they used to bring those who were very infirm and near their end. Then bade he his servant, on the eve of the night in which he was to leave the world, to prepare him a place of rest in that house; whereupon the servant wondered why he gave this order, for it seemed to him that his death was not so near, yet he did as he had commanded him. And when, having taken their place there, they were speaking in joyful mood and joking with those who had previously been in the place, and it was just past midnight, he asked whether they had the eucharist within. They answered, "What need hast thou of the eucharist? for thou, who art speaking to us thus cheerfully, art not now on the point of death." He said again, "Nevertheless, bring me the eucharist!" When he had taken it in his hand, he asked if they had all a placid mind towards him, without any enmity or ill-will. They all answered that they were most kindly disposed towards him, far removed from any angry feeling; and they besought him in return that he would be kindly disposed towards them. He immediately answered, "My dear brethren, I am kindly disposed towards you and towards all God's servants." And thus strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, he prepared himself to enter into another life. He asked again, how near was the hour in which the brethren must rise to sing their nocturns. They answered, "It is not far to that." Then he said, "It is well; let us therefore wait that hour." And signing himself with the sign of the holy cross, he reclined his head on the pillow, and so in silence ended his life. And thus it was that, as he

with pure and calm mind and tranquil devotion had served God, he in like manner, leaving the world by as calm a death, went to his presence; and, with that tongue which had composed so many salutary words in praise of the Creator, closed his last words also in his praise, as he crossed himself and committed his spirit into his hands."

The death of Cædmon is supposed to have happened about the year 680. He was buried in the monastery of Whitby, where, according to William of Malmsbury, his bones were discovered in the earlier part of the twelfth century. In the Anglo-Romish Calendar, the commemoration of his birth has been fixed by some on the eleventh, by others on the tenth, of February, but apparently on no good authority.

In the earlier part of the seventeenth century, archbishop Usher became possessed of a manuscript of Anglo-Saxon poetry, the subject and character of which coincided in many respects with the description given by Bede of the works of Cædmon. The archbishop presented the manuscript to Junius, who immediately gave an edition of the text under Cædmon's name, printed at Amsterdam in 1655. The original manuscript (which is the only one yet discovered, passed, with the rest of that scholar's collection, to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where it is still preserved. Hickes and other writers have contended that Junius was wrong in attributing this poetry to Cædmon; but their principal arguments have been shown by others to rest on weak foundations, and, although much corrupted in passing through three centuries (for the MS. was written in the tenth century), there seems to be little reason for doubting that we have here some fragments of Cædmon's compositions. The edition by Junius having become rare, and it being also full of errors, these poems were selected to form the first publication of the Anglo-Saxon committee established by

the Society of Antiquaries of London; and in 1832 appeared the excellent edition by Mr. Thorpe, consisting of a text formed carefully from the original manuscript, and accompanied by a literal English version.

A very large portion of the work thus printed, and which is known generally as "Cædmon's Paraphrase," embraces the history contained in the book of Genesis. The long and graphic account of the fall of man, founded on legends of which it is not now easy to trace the origin, resembles so much the plot of the Paradise Lost, that it has obtained for its author the name of the Saxon Milton. The remainder of what is printed as the first book consists of the history of Daniel. The second book is little more than a collection of fragments, probably taken down (as Mr. Thorpe supposes) from oral recitation; they relate to the descent of the Saviour into Hades (a story so popular during the middle age under the name of "the Harrowing of Hell"), the Ascension, and the Temptation in the Wilderness. The style of this poetry is unequal; but some parts, and more particularly the narrative of the fall, are very favourable specimens of the poetic skill of our early forefathers. The story just mentioned appears to have been the poem on which Cædmon's great reputation was founded; it was the one which, according to the legend, he had commenced in the first moments of his inspiration, under the influence of his dream. An extract from it will give the general reader the best idea of his manner of writing. The following passage is the commencement of the speech of Satan, when he first recovers from the consternation into which the entire defeat of his ambition had thrown him, and forms his treacherous designs against the happiness of our first parents; it bears a remarkable analogy to the similar speech of the fallen angel in the first book of Paradise Lost.

Weoll hím on ínnan	Boiled within him
hyge ymb hís heórtan,	his thought about his heart,
hát wæs hím útan	hot was without him
wraðlic wíte.	his dire punishment.
He þa worde cwæð:	Then spake he words:
" Is þes ænga stéde ún-ge-lic swiðe	" This narrow place is most unlike
þam oðrum þe we ær cuðon,	that other that we formerly knew,
heán on heofon-ríce,	high in heaven's kingdom,
þe me mín hearra onlag,	which my master bestowed on me,
þeah we hine, for þam alwealdan,	though we it, for the All-powerful,
ágan ne moston,	may not possess,
rómigan úres ríces;	we must cede our realm;
næfð he þeah riht ge-dón,	yet hath he not done rightly,
þ he us hæfð befylled	that he hath struck us down
fy're to bótme	to the fiery abyss
hélle þære hátan,	of the hot hell,
heofon-ríce benúmen,	bereft us of heaven's kingdom,
háfað hit ge-meárcod	hath decreed
mid mon-cynne	to people it
to ge-settanne.	with mankind.
þ mé is sorga mæst,	That is to me of sorrows the greatest,
ꝥ Adam sceal,	that Adam,
þe wæs of eorðan ge-worht,	who was wrought of earth,
mínne stronglican	shall possess
stól behealdan,	my strong seat,
wésan him on wy'nne,	that it shall be to him in delight,
⁊ wé þis wíte þolien,	and we endure this torment,
hearm on þisse helle.	misery in this hell.
Wá lá ahte ic mínra handa ge-weáld,	Oh! had I power of my hands,
⁊ moste áne tíd	might one season
úte weorðan,	be without,
wésan áne winter-stunde,	be one winter's space,
þonne ic mid þys werodé—	then with this host I——
Ac licgað me ymbe	But around me lie
íren-bendas,	iron bonds,
rídeð racentan sal;	presseth this cord of chain;
íc eom ríces leas!	I am powerless!
habbað me swa hearde	me have so hard
helle clommas	the clasps of hell
fæste befangen!	so firmly grasped!
Hér is fy'r micel	Here is a vast fire
ufan ⁊ neoðone;	above and underneath,
ic á ne ge-seah	never did I see
láðran landscipe;	a loathlier landskip;
líg ne aswamað,	the flame abateth not,
hát ofer helle.	hot over hell.

Me habbað hringa ge-sprong,
slið-hearda sál,
siðes amyrred,
afyrred me mín feðe.
Fét synt ge-búndene,
hánda ge-hæ′fte,
synt þissa hél-dora
wegas for-wórhte,
swa ic mid wihte ne mæg
of þissum lióðo-bendum.
Licgað me ymbutan
heárdes írenes
háte ge-slægene
grindlas greate,
mid þy me God hafað
ge-hæfted be þam healse.
Swa ic wát he minne hige cuðe,
⁊ ꝥ wiste eac,
weroda drihten,
ꝥ sceolde unc Adáme
yfele ge-wurðan,
ymb ꝥ heofon-ríce,
þær íc ahte mínra handa ge-weald."

Thorpe's Cædmon, pp. 23—25.

me hath the clasping of these rings,
this hard polished band,
impeded in my course,
debarred me from my way.
My feet are bound,
my hands manacled,
of these hell-doors are
the ways obstructed,
so that with aught I cannot
from these limb bonds escape.
About me lie
huge gratings
of hard iron
forged with heat,
with which me God
hath fastened by the neck.
Thus perceive I that he knoweth my mind,
and that he knew also,
the Lord of hosts,
that should us through Adam
evil befall,
about the realm of heaven,
where I had power of my hands."

Editions of Cædmon.

Cædmonis Monachi Paraphrasis poetica Genesios ac præcipuarum Sacræ Paginæ Historiarum, abhinc annos M.LXX. Anglo-Saxonice conscripta, et nunc primum edita a Francisco Junio, F. F. Small 4to, Amsterdam, 1655.

Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon; with an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index, by Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. Honorary Member of the Islandic Literary Society of Copenhagen. Large 8vo. London, published by the Society of Antiquaries. 1832.

ADAMNAN.

Among the learned men who enjoyed the friendship of Aldfrid king of Northumberland, was Adamnan or Adomnan.* His name is connected with the disputes concerning Easter which were so warmly agitated in the north of England, where the members of the two churches came into more frequent intercourse with each other than in the southern parts of the island: and he was one of the few early Irish monks of whom we have any authentic literary remains.

Adamnan is supposed to have been a native of Ireland, but the date of his birth is not known. He succeeded St. Failbeus as abbot of the celebrated monastery of Iona, being the fourth who presided over that house after the death of its founder St. Columba. Few particulars of his life have been preserved, and Bede is almost our only authority for them.† It appears that he was sent by his countrymen on an embassy to king Aldfrid in the first years of the eighth century, and that he resided for some time in the kingdom of Northumberland. He was probably chosen for this mission because he had previously enjoyed that king's friendship, who had spent his youth in study among the Irish Scots at the same island of Iona. During his stay

* The carelessness of scribes has multiplied the forms of this name: it is frequently spelt Adamannus, and some MSS. have Adamanus, Adamandus, Adobnanus, and Adalmunus. The authorities for Adamnanus or Adomnanus (*a* and *o* were interchangeable) are quite satisfactory. Alcuin gives the third syllable as short (Opera, p. 1756.)

> Patricius, Cheranus, Scotorum gloria gentis,
> Atque Columbanus, Congallus, *Adamnanus*, atque
> Præclari patres, morum vitæque magistri.

† Bede, H. E. v. 15. And the further notice in the letter of Ceolfrid, in Bede, H. E. v. 21. Usher has quoted some Irish authorities, which however add nothing to Adamnan's biography.

in Northumbria he was converted to the doctrines of the church of Rome concerning the time of celebrating Easter and the tonsure, by the arguments of the Anglo-Saxon Theologians; Ceolfrid abbot of Wearmouth, at which monastery Adamnan had been a temporary guest, being one of his instructors.* On his return to Iona, the abbot attempted to convert his monks, but finding them unwilling to desert the creed of their forefathers, and disgusted with their obstinacy, he left the monastery, and passed over to Ireland. There his endeavours were more successful, and, after having converted multitudes of persons in different parts of that country by his preaching, he assisted at the celebration of Easter at the time fixed by the rules of the church of Rome. Encouraged by this success, Adamnan again returned to his own monks, who, however, continued deaf to his exhortations; and the abbot, worn out with mortification and regret, died just before the arrival of the Easter of the following year, and, as Bede observes, was thus saved from the collision which must have been the result of his giving orders, as their superior, which his monks in their consciences would feel obliged to disobey. The year of his death is generally believed to have been A.D. 704. The Irish annals† place it on the twenty-third of September, 703, which is the day given to Adamnan in the Romish Calendar; but this must be an error, because it cannot be made to agree with the narrative of Bede, who was a contemporary writer.

We are inclined to disagree with the opinion which places the date of Adamnan's mission to king Aldfrid in 703, and which thus appears to crowd the later events of his life within a smaller space of time than is consistent with the history. If his death be placed in 704, his conversion

* See Ceolfrid's letter, just quoted.

† Quoted by Tanner, Biblioth. in v. Adamannus.

of the Irish must have been completed before the Easter of the preceding year (in 703, Easter-day was the eighth of April), and the work of conversion must itself have required some time. It seems not indeed improbable that the reason of his leaving his monastery was his unwillingness to enforce upon his monks the new regulations for celebrating the Easter of 702; and his visit to the court of King Aldfrid would thus be carried back at least to the year 701. The expression used by Bede (aliquandiu in ea provincia moratus), would lead us to believe that Adamnan remained in England during some months.

Both Bede and the abbot Ceolfrid bear witness to the goodness and humility of Adamnan's character, and to his intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures.* As a writer, he holds the remarkable position of being probably the first native of our islands who incited the Anglo-Saxons to that long pilgrimage which had afterwards such an important influence on the civilization of the world, by publishing a description of the Holy Land. In the latter part of the seventh century, a Frankish bishop named Arculf had visited Jerusalem, and from thence had wandered to Alexandria in Egypt and to Constantinople. On his way home he witnessed a volcanic eruption in the isle of Vulcano off the coast of Sicily. The vessel in which he was embarked was afterwards carried out to sea by a violent tempest, which threw it on the western coast of Britain. Mabillon could not trace the name of this prelate in the early annals of any of the French sees;† but his bishopric was probably in Neustria, as his ship must have been bound for the west coast of France (perhaps

* Erat enim vir bonus et sapiens, et scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus. Bede, v. 15. Miram in moribus ac verbis prudentiam, humilitatem, religionem, ostenderet. Ceolfrid's Letter.

† In the Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.

to Nantes), or it would not have been carried out into the Atlantic. Thus shipwrecked, Arculf, after many wanderings, arrived at Iona, where he was hospitably received by Adamnan, who listened with pleasure to the recital of his adventures.* The abbot of Iona committed this narrative to writing in a book which is still preserved, and which appears once to have been very popular. An abridgment of Adamnan's work was afterwards published by Bede,† who has also inserted some extracts from it in his History of the Anglo-Saxon church.‡ When Adamnan had completed this book, he carried it over as an offering to king Aldfrid, who allowed copies to be made for the use of his subjects, and sent the author home loaded with presents. It seems certain that this visit preceded his mission by the Irish; and it was probably the same as that mentioned in his own life of Columba.§

The treatise of Adamnan *De Situ Terræ Sanctæ* was published at Ingolstadt by a Jesuit named James Gretser, in 1619; and it was afterwards inserted in the Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sti. Benedicti by Mabillon. It is divided into three books, the first containing his account of Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood; the second comprising the remainder of the Holy Land, with Damascus, Tyre, Alexandria, and observations on Egypt and the Nile;

* The story of Adamnan's intercourse with Arculf is told by Bede, H. E. v. 15, and at the end of his abridgment of Adamnan's book.

† Bede's abridgment was printed in Gretser's edition of the original, and in the folio edition of Bede's works, vol. iii. p. 363. It was in some manuscripts appended to the Itinerarium Bernardi Sapientis, and has been published with it in the fourth volume of the Mémoires de la Société de Géographie of Paris, but the editor of this edition seemed not to be aware that he was merely reprinting Bede.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 16, 17.

§ Vit. Columb. ii, 56. This must have been after 685. The Irish annals of the Four Masters (ap. Colgan, ii. 385) state that Adamnan waa sent to Northumberland in 684 to demand the captives made by King Egfrid, which seems to be an error partly founded on a misinterpretation of the passage in the Vita Columbæ.

and the third being occupied with an account of the chief religious objects at Constantinople and of Arculf's return to Sicily. The style of Adamnan's Latin is rather rude;* and his narrative is perfectly devoid of ornament. The following extract from his description of Jerusalem will give the reader an idea of it.—(Lib. iii. chap. 2.)

Sed et hoc etiam non esse prætereundum videtur, quod nobis sanctus Arculfus de hujus civitatis in Christo honorificentia præfatus narravit, inquiens. Diversarum gentium undique innumera multitudo, decimo quinto die mensis Septembris, anniversario more in Hierosolymis convenire solet, ad commercia mutuis venditionibus et emptionibus peragenda; unde necesse est, ut per aliquot dies, in eadem hospita civitate diversorum hospitentur turbæ populorum, quorum plurima camelorum et equorum asinorumque numerositas, nec non et boum masculorum, diversarum vectorum rerum, per illas politanas plateas, stercorum abominationes propriorum passim sternit; quorum nidor non mediocriter invehit civibus molestiam, quæ ambulandi impeditionem præbet. Mirum dictu, post diem supra memoratum recessionis cum diversis turmarum jumentis, nocte subsequente, immensa pluviarum copia de nubibus effusa super eandem descendit civitatem, quæ totas abstergit abominabiles de plateis sordes, ablutamque ab immunditiis fieri facit eam. Nam Hierosolymitanus ipse situs, a supercilio aquilonaris montis Sion incipiens, ita est molli a conditore Deo dispositus declivio, usque ad humiliora aquilonarium orientaliumque murorum loca, ut illa pluvialis exuberantia nullo modo in plateis, stagnantium aquarum in similitudinem, supra sedere possit, sed instar fluviorum de superioribus ad inferiora decurrit. Quæ scilicet cælestium aquarum inundatio per orientales interfluens portas, et omnia secum stercoraria auferens abominamenta vallem Josaphat intrans, torrentem Cedron auget: et post talem Hierosolymitanam baptizationem, continuatim eadem fluminalis exuberatio cessat.

Adamnan is also known as the writer of a Life of St. Columba, which he says that he wrote at the solicitation of the brethren of his monastery, and therefore before the time of his visit to England and his difference with the

* In the Cologne edition of his works, Bede is made to say, at the end of his abridgment of this work, that the original was written in a *ragged* style—quos eruditissimus in scripturis presbyter Adomnanus *lacinioso sermone* describens, tribus libellis comprehendit. Op. vol. iii. p. 371. But this appears to be a mere mistake of the copyist who, in the MS., read *lacino sermone*, instead of *Latino sermone* as it is in the two English MSS. of Bernardus Sapiens, and so imagined it to be an accidental abbreviation for *lacinioso*.

monks on the subject of Easter. Bede appears not to have been acquainted with this book. It is divided into three books, and, like most similar works, consists of a mixture of a small portion of historical matter with much that is legendary. It has been frequently printed in collections of lives of saints.

*Editions of Adamnan's Works.**

Canisii Antiquæ Lectiones, 4to, 1601, tom. iv.—Ed. Basnage, fol. Antw. 1725, tom. i. p. 678. The life of Saint Columba.

Adamanni Scotohiberni Abbatis celeberrimi, de Situ Terræ Sanctæ, et quorundam aliorum locorum, ut Alexandriæ et Constantinopoleos, Libri tres. Ante annos nongentos et amplius conscripti, et nunc primum in lucem prolati, studio Jacobi Gretseri Societatis Jesu Theologi. Accessit eorundem librorum Breviarium, seu Compendium, breviatore venerabili Beda Presbytero, cum prolegomenis et notis. Small Quarto, Ingolstadt, 1619.

Messingham, Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum seu Vitæ et Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ. fol. Paris, 1624, p. 141. The life of St. Columba, reprinted from Canisius, who edited it from a MS. at Windberg in Bavaria.

Colgan, Triadis Thaumaturgæ seu Divorum Patricii, Columbæ, et Brigidæ, trium veteris et majoris Scotiæ, seu Hiberniæ Sanctorum insulæ, communium patronorum Acta. fol. Lovanii, 1647. tom. ii. p. 336. The life of Columba, from a MS. at Augst, exhibiting a more complete and better text than that of Canisius.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum III, pars secunda. fol. Paris, 1672. The treatise De Locis Sanctis, from Gretser's edition, compared with three MSS.

Acta Sanctorum Junii, tom. ii. fol. Antverpiæ, 1698. p. 197. The Life of Columba, reprinted from Colgan.

HAEDDI OR HEDDA, AND OFTFOR.

THE person best known to us by the name of Hedda† (one which seems to have been by no means uncommon among the Anglo-Saxons) succeeded Leutherius as bishop of Winchester; and, if William of Malmsbury

* It is probable that there are some rare Editions of the Life of Columba not here indicated.

† *Haeddi* is the orthography of Bede: most other writers have *Hedda*.

had not asserted that he had seen a collection of letters addressed by this prelate to Aldhelm, he would no more deserve a place in a literary biography than most of the other names of the latter part of the seventh century which were collected by Leland and Bale. We learn from Rudborne, the old historian of the see of Winchester, that Hedda had been a "monk and abbot" under Hilda at Whitby.* He was made bishop of Winchester in 676, and was consecrated in London by archbishop Theodore.† After having presided over that see about thirty years, he died at Winchester in the beginning of the reign of Osred king of Northumberland, A.D. 705,‡ and was buried in his own church.§ The Romish Calendar gives the seventh of July as the day of his death.

The only important act of this bishop, mentioned by historians, was the translation of the body of St. Birinus from Dorchester to Winchester. Hedda was celebrated for his piety, and long after his death numerous miracles were believed to be performed by his mediation. Bede tells us that as a bishop he was distinguished more by his love of virtue than by his attachment to literature.‖ To prove his learning, in contradiction to the judgment passed upon him by Bede, William of Malmsbury appeals to his letters to Aldhelm (now lost), and to the learned works which Aldhelm addressed to him.¶ Bale, apparently with-

* Monachus et abbas in Streneshalce. Rudborne, Hist. Winton. ap. Wharton, Ang. S. i. 192. Qui prius fuerat monachus et abbas. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. p. 241.

† Bede, H. E. iv. 12, and the Saxon Chron. sub an. 676.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 18.

§ Corpus in propria ecclesia honorifice humatum est. Rudborne, p. 193. According to Johannes Glastoniensis, he was buried at Glastonbury.

‖ Bonus quippe erat vir ac justus, et episcopalem vitam, sive doctrinam, magis insito sibi virtutum amore, quam lectionibus, institutus exercebat. Bede, H. E. v. 18.

¶ Unde non parvo moveor scrupulo, quippe qui legerim ejus formales epistolas non nimis indocte compositas, et Aldelmi ad eum scripta maximam

out any authority, attributes to Hedda a work entitled *Ad Ecclesiarum Pastores*, Lib. i.

Among the writers anterior to Aldhelm, we ought perhaps to insert the name of Oftfor, or, as he is more commonly called, Ostfor or Ostoforus.* He also was educated at Whitby, and afterwards studied under Theodore in Kent. Thence he went to Rome, and, on his return to England, he visited the district of the Hwicci (now Worcestershire), where he preached the gospel with remarkable zeal. Bosel, the bishop of that district, being then very aged and unfit for the duties of his station, it was found necessary to substitute a more active man in his place, and Oftfor was consecrated to the bishopric by Wilfred, Theodore of Canterbury being dead and a new archbishop not yet appointed.† This therefore must have taken place after the September of the year 690. The date of Oftfor's death seems to be rather uncertain; but if the year 692 (which rests on the oldest authority)‡ be correct, he presided over the see of Worcester during a very brief period. Bede and the ancient writers give us no reason to believe that this bishop wrote anything; yet Bale insists upon his being the author of "erudite homilies and other works," which he says perished in the Danish invasions.

vim eloquentiæ et scientiæ redolentia. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 241. I think the late editor of Bede (see his note on H. E. v. 18) has interpreted the term *formales epistolas* too strictly; for William of Malmsbury appears to have had a volume containing Aldhelm's familiar correspondence, in which were these letters from Hedda, and in his life of Aldhelm he quotes part of a letter from Aldhelm to Hedda, relating to his own studies and occupations.

* For the spelling *Oftfor*, we have the authority of Bede, and it is apparently correct. The other form has probably arisen from the great similarity in the manuscripts, particularly after the entry of the Normans, between *f* and *s*, which were frequently interchanged by the scribes.

† Bede, H. E. iv. 23.

‡ The Annales Wigorn. (in Wharton, Ang. Sac. i, 470) give this date.

ALDHELM.

Hitherto we have had to speak chiefly of men who received their education in the kingdom of Northumbria. The school established in Kent was however producing its fruits, and we shall meet with more than one great scholar formed by the teaching of Theodore and Adrian. The most celebrated of these was Aldhelm,* a scion of the illustrious family of the West-Saxon kings. Aldhelm was born in Wessex; but the date of his birth is uncertain, although it may be placed with sufficient probability about the year 656. There seems to be good authority for stating his father's name to have been Kenter, a near kinsman of king Ine; but a comparison of the dates is enough to show that Aldhelm, was not, as some have stated, king Ine's nephew.† When but a boy (*pusio*), Aldhelm, who exhibited an early taste for letters, was

* We have two original Lives of Aldhelm; one by William of Malmsbury, written towards the middle of the twelfth century, the other written in the latter years of the eleventh century, by Faricius, a foreign monk of Malmsbury, who became abbot of Abingdon in A.D. 1100, and died in 1117. The first of these was printed by Wharton and by Gale from very modern manuscripts; a copy of it is preserved in MS. Cotton. Claudius A. v., written certainly in the twelfth century, and much shorter than the printed copy, all the extracts from letters and charters being omitted; as far as it goes, this MS. is much better than the printed text. A life which bears internal evidence of being that quoted by Malmsbury as the work of Faricius, is preserved in MS. Cotton. Faustina B. IV., also written in the twelfth century. (These two lives are printed in the Acta Sanctorum, from transcripts of the Cottonian MSS. communicated by Dugdale.) Bede, though he speaks of his works in terms of admiration, gives a very brief account of Aldhelm.

Various writers, from inattention, have introduced erroneous modes of spelling the name, Adhelm, Aldelm, Aldelin, Adelhelm, Athelm, &c.; yet we have a certain guide to the right orthography in his acrostic preface to the Ænigmata, which we shall quote at the end of this article.

† See W. Malmsb. p. 2. (Ed. Wharton, in Angl. Sacr.) Malmsbury had before him a kind of common-place book written by King Alfred, which he quotes more than once for circumstances relating to Aldhelm, who seems to have been a favourite writer with that great monarch. Alfred thus spoke

sent to Adrian in Kent, and he soon excited the wonder even of his teachers by his progress in the study of the Latin and Greek languages.* When somewhat more advanced in years (*majusculus*), he returned to his native land of Wessex.

Near the beginning of the same century, an Irish monk named Meildulf, a voluntary exile from the land of his nativity, had taken up his abode among the solitudes of the vast forests which then covered the north-eastern districts of Wiltshire. He seems to have formed for himself a cell amongst, or near, the ruins of an ancient town. Meildulf, after living for a short time as a hermit, found it necessary to secure for himself a less precarious subsistence by instructing the youth of the neighbouring districts; teachers were then few, and, the fame of the hermit being spread abroad, scholars soon came from considerable distances to hear him, and thus the hermitage gradually became a seat of learning, and continued to be inhabited by his scholars after Meildulf's death. People gave to the place the name of Meildulfes-byrig, which, softened down into Malmsbury, it still retains.†

of Aldhelm's parents,—Qui enim legit Manualem Librum Regis Elfredi, reperiet Kenterum beati Aldhelmi patrem non fuisse regis Inæ germanum, sed arctissima necessitudine consanguineum. p. 2. It may be observed that Faricius says that there were, among the materials he used, some English documents, which he (an Italian) calls *barbarice scripta*.

* Ibi pusio Græcis et Latinis eruditus literis, brevi mirandus ipsis enituit magistris. W. Malmsb. MS. Cotton. fol. 128, v°. In the printed edition this passage is so transposed as to make him study the Greek and Latin languages, while a boy, at Malmsbury, instead of under Adrian. It is worthy of notice, that a rubric in the early MS. of the Ænigmata in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 12 C. xxiii, fol. 83, v°, (written perhaps in the ninth century) says that Aldhelm studied under Theodore. Incipiunt Ænigmata edita ab Aldhelmo Archiepiscopo (*leg.* Archiepiscopi) Theodori rhetoris discipulo.

† Cumque jam majusculus a Cantia in West-Saxones remeasset, religionis habitum in Meldunensi accepit cœnobio, quod situm est in civitate quæ antiquo vocabulo Mealduberi, nunc Mealmesberi vocatur. Id quidam Meldum, qui alio nomine vocatur Meildulf, natione Scottus, eruditione philosophus,

After his return to Wessex, Aldhelm joined this community of scholars, in imitation of whom he embraced the monastic life; and in their society he pursued his studies with zeal, and made himself acquainted with the "liberal arts." His stay at Malmsbury was not however of long duration; he made a second visit to Kent, and continued to attend the school of Adrian, until sickness compelled him to revisit the country of the West-Saxons. He again sought the sylvan shades of Malmsbury; and after a lapse of three years he wrote a letter to his old preceptor Adrian, describing the studies in which he was still occupied, and pointing out the difficulties which he encountered. From being the companion of the monks in their scholastic pursuits, Aldhelm soon became their teacher, and his reputation for learning spread so rapidly, that the small society he had found at Malmsbury was increased by scholars from the distant regions of France and Scotland. One of his biographers assures us that he could write and speak the Greek language like a native of Greece; that he excelled in Latin all scholars since the days of Virgil; and that he was acquainted with Hebrew, and read the Psalms and other parts of scripture in the original text.*

At this period the monks and scholars appear to have formed only a voluntary association, held together by similarity of pursuits and the fame of their teacher; and

professione monachus, fecerat. Qui cum natali solo voluntarie carens illuc devenisset, nemoris amenitate quod tunc temporis in immensum eo loco succreverat captus, heremiticam vitam exercuit. Deficientibusque necessariis, scholares in disciplinatum accepit, ut ex eorum liberalitate tenuitatem victus corrigeret. Illi procedente tempore magistri sequaces, ex scholaribus monachi effecti, in conventum non exiguum coaluere. W. Malmsb. MS. Cotton.

* Miro denique modo gratiæ facundiæ omnia idiomata sciebat, et quasi Græcus natione scriptis et verbis pronuntiabat . . . . Latinæ quoque scientiæ valde potatus rivulis, etiam proprietate partium aliquis eo melius nequaquam usus est post Virgilium. Ita enim in antiquariis suæ linguæ legitur, prophetarum exempla, Davidis psalmos, Salomonis tria volumina, Hebraicis literis bene novit, et legem Moysaicam. Faricius, fol. 140, vo.

they do not appear to have been subjected to rules. How long they continued to live in this manner is uncertain; at a subsequent period, either at their own solicitation or by the will of the West-Saxon monarch and his bishop, they were formed into a regular monastery, and Aldhelm was appointed their abbot. The date of the foundation of the abbey of Malmsbury is rendered doubtful by some difficulties which present themselves in the chronology of the earlier part of Aldhelm's life. There are preserved two copies of the charter by which Leutherius is said to have authorized the foundation, and given the house to Aldhelm; one in the biographical sketch by William of Malmsbury, the other printed in the Monasticon from the Malmsbury Chartulary. The first of these is dated in 675, the other in 680. They are in substance the same, but William of Malmsbury appears to have abridged his original when he introduced it into his narrative. This charter is signed, amongst other names, by Hedda as abbot. The first of these dates will agree very well with the signatures, but appears inadmissible when we consider it in connexion with the age of Aldhelm. Pagi has shown very satisfactorily that Adrian did not arrive in England before the year 670, and as he is said to have landed in the month of October, we can hardly suppose that he began teaching before A.D. 671.* If we suppose that Aldhelm was one of his first scholars, and that he went into Kent at the age of fifteen, which appears to be as wide an interpretation as we ought to give to the word *pusio* then applied to him, he would be only nineteen in 675, which was too young to be made first abbot of an important monastic foundation. The other date is certainly incorrect; there seems to be no room for doubting that Leutherius died in 676, and therefore he

* Pagi in Baron. Annales, tom. xi. p. 571.

could not give a charter in 680, and at that time Hedda was bishop and not abbot. These considerations appear sufficient to justify a strong suspicion that the charters of the foundation of Malmsbury abbey are forgeries, made perhaps after the Norman Conquest to be exhibited as titles against the usurping spirit of the invaders.* If we suppose that Aldhelm remained with Adrian till he had completed his seventeenth year (which would agree very well with the term *majusculus*), that he embraced the monastic habit at the age of eighteen, and that two years elapsed during his first residence at Malmsbury and his subsequent visit to Adrian, we may fairly suppose that he did not settle finally at Malmsbury till the age of twenty-one, so that he would be about twenty-four years old when he wrote the letter to Adrian which is quoted by his biographer, that is, in A.D. 680. About this time, or more probably within the two or three following years, we may place the foundation of the abbey.

Under Aldhelm, the abbey of Malmsbury continued long to be the seat of piety, as well as learning, and was enriched with many gifts by the West-Saxon kings and nobles. Its abbot founded smaller religious houses at Frome and Bradford, in the neighbourhood. At Malmsbury he found a small but ancient church, or basilica, then in ruins; this he rebuilt or repaired, and dedicated it to St. Peter and St. Paul, in that age the favourite Saints of the Anglo-Saxons. His biographers have preserved the verses which Aldhelm composed to celebrate its consecration; and, as they are imperfectly printed in the editions of William of Malmsbury, they may be introduced here as a specimen of his poetry.†

* The Charter is written in a singular style, and is dated somewhat affectedly "on the banks of the river Bladon."

† Faricius pretends that these verses were composed at Rome, when Aldhelm first saw the church of St. Peter. fol. 143, vº.

Hic celebranda rudis florescit gloria templi,
Limpida quæ sacri signat vexilla triumphi;
Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebrosi lumina mundi,
Præcipui patres, populi qui frena gubernant,
Carminibus crebris alma venerantur in aula.
Claviger æthereus, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida cœlorum recludens regna tonantis,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota precantum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant imbribus ora;
Suscipe singultus, commissa piacla gementum
Qui prece fragranti torrent peccamina vitæ.
Maximus, en! doctor, Paulus vocitatus ab axe,
Saulus qui dictus mutato nomine Paulus,
Cum cuperes Christo priscos præponere ritus,
Post tenebras claram cœpisti cernere lucem,
Vocibus orantum nunc aures pande benignas,
Ut tutor tremulis cum Petro porrige dextram,
Sacra frequentantes aulæ qui limina lustrant,
Quatenus hic scelerum detur indulgentia perpes,
Larga de pietate fluens et fonte superno,
Signis qui nunquam populis torpescit in ævum.

Aldhelm may be considered as the father of Anglo-Latin poetry. The minds of most of the earlier Saxon theologians, who were born of noble and princely families, were well stored with the productions of the native muse; and we have already observed that this taste gave a character to the style of all Aldhelm's Latin compositions.* Aldhelm also composed in Anglo-Saxon. King Alfred placed him in the first rank of the vernacular poets of his country; and we learn from William of Malmsbury, that, even so late as the twelfth century, some pieces which were attributed to him continued to be popular. The prevalence of alliteration will have been remarked in the brief Latin poem given above. To be a poet, it was then necessary to be a musician also; and Aldhelm's biographers assure us that he excelled on all the different instruments then in use.† Long after he became abbot of

* See the Introduction to the present volume, p. 45.

† Musicæ autem artis omnia instrumenta quæ fidibus vel fistulis aut

Malmsbury, he appears to have devoted much of his leisure to music and poetry. King Alfred had entered into his manual, or note-book, an anecdote which is peculiarly characteristic of the age, and which perhaps belongs to the period that preceded the foundation of the abbey. Aldhelm had observed with pain that the peasantry were become negligent in their religious duties, and that no sooner was the church service ended than they all hastened to their homes and labours, and could with difficulty be persuaded to attend to the exhortations of the preacher. He watched the occasion, and stationed himself in the character of a minstrel on the bridge over which the people had to pass, and soon collected a crowd of hearers by the beauty of his verse; when he found that he had gained possession of their attention, he gradually introduced, among the popular poetry which he was reciting to them, words of a more serious nature, till at length he succeeded in impressing upon their minds a truer feeling of religious devotion; "whereas, if," as William of Malmsbury observes, "he had proceeded with severity and excommunication, he would have made no impression whatever upon them."*

aliis varietatibus melodiæ fieri possunt, et memoria tenuit et in cotidiano usui habuit. Faricius, col. 140, v°.

* Nativæ quoque linguæ non negligebat carmina; adeo ut, teste libro Elfredi de quo superius dixi, nulla unquam ætate par ei fuerit quispiam, poesim Anglicam posse facere, tantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere. Denique commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur, Aldhelmus fecisse; adjiciens causam qua probet rationabiliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola institisse: populum eo tempore semi-barbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare solitum; ideoque sanctum virum super pontem qui rura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantandi professum. Eo plus quam semel facto, plebis favorem et concursum emeritum hoc commento, sensim inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisse; qui si severe et cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecto profecisset nihil. W. Malmsb. Vit. Aldh. ap. Wharton, p. 4.

Few details of the latter part of Aldhelm's life have been preserved. We know that his reputation continued to be extensive; and we find an Irish monk, who had been his scholar, addressing a letter to him by the title "Aldhelmo *archimandritæ* Saxonum." After he had been made abbot of Malmsbury, he received an invitation from Pope Sergius I. to visit Rome,* and he is supposed to have accompanied Caedwalla king of the West-Saxons, who was baptized by that pope and died at Rome in 689. Whether this be true, or not, Aldhelm's visit to Rome cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 688, because Sergius had only been raised to the papal chair in the course of the preceding year; and as the chief object of his journey was to obtain the pope's confirmation of the privileges of his abbey, we may justly suppose that it had been very recently founded, which confirms us in giving to that event a date subsequent to 680.

Aldhelm did not remain long at Rome. In 692, he appears, from his letter on the subject quoted by one of his biographers,† to have taken part to a certain degree, though not very decidedly, with Wilfred, in his great contest with the Anglo-Saxon clergy. Soon after this, we find him employed in the still more famous dispute about the celebration of Easter. A synod was called by king Ine, about 693, to attempt a reconciliation on this point between the Britons of Cornwall and the Anglo-Saxons, and Aldhelm was appointed to write a letter on the subject (addressed to Geruntius King of Cornwall, and still

Faricius gives the following account of the West-Saxons at this period,—Quo tempore illius provinciæ populus perversus opere quamvis subditus fidei nostræ, ecclesiam non frequentabat, nec sacerdotum satis curabat imperium.

* Faricius, ap. Bolland. Act. Sanct. Maii, tom. vi. p. 86, 87.

† W. Malmsb. ap. Wharton, p. 5. See pp. 180, 181, of the present volume.

preserved), which was effective in converting many of the Britons to the Romish rule.* We hear nothing further of the abbot of Malmsbury till the year 705, when, on the death of Hedda, the bishopric of Wessex was divided into two dioceses, of which one, that of Sherborn (afterwards removed to Salisbury) was given to Aldhelm,† who appears to have been allowed to retain at the same time his abbacy. Four years afterwards he died at Dilton‡ near Westbury in Wiltshire, on the twenty-fifth of May, 709. His body was carried to Malmsbury, where it was buried in the presence of Egwin bishop of Worcester.

Aldhelm was not a voluminous writer. The works which alone have given celebrity to his name, are his two treatises on Virginity and his Ænigmata. The prose treatise de Laude Virginitatis continued to be a favourite book with our Anglo-Saxon forefathers up to the time of the Norman conquest, and numerous early manuscripts of it are still preserved. Many of these manuscripts written after the eighth century, when the nuns for whose use it was designed were less frequently instructed in Latin than at the time when it was composed, are accompanied by a partial interlinear translation in Anglo-Saxon. This book, as well as the one on the same subject written in Latin hexameters, consists chiefly of an enumeration of the martyrs of both sexes who had devoted themselves to a life of strict chastity, with an account of their sufferings and constancy. The Ænigmata, written in imitation of Symposius, were also popular among the Anglo-Saxons. We have already given an

* Bede, H. E. v. 18. conf. W. Malmsb. and Faric.

† Bede, H. E. v. 18.

‡ "Dulting" in William of Malmsbury, and "Dunting" in Faricius.

account of this work;* it is accompanied by an introduction in prose, which treats some of the peculiarities of Latin versification in a manner that shows that its most common rules were then new to the Anglo-Saxon readers. These works, with a poem on the seven cardinal vices and two or three letters, are all now remaining which can be attributed with any degree of certainty to the pen of Aldhelm, and they have all been printed. The book of Ænigmata is supposed to be incomplete; because the introductory acrostics have been generally interpreted as meaning that it consisted of a thousand lines, while in the printed editions it contains no more than seven hundred and fifty-five lines. Different copies appear to vary a little in the number; the only manuscript which we have had the opportunity of examining, and which is perhaps of the earlier part of the ninth century, contains seven hundred and sixty-four lines. Bale speaks of a treatise on Metres by Aldhelm, beginning with the words "Aonio rediens deducam vertice musas," but, according to his biographer, this was the conclusion of his treatise.† A work on metres by Aldhelm is said to exist among the MSS. of Vossius at Leyden. Bale also attributes to him a work entitled *Dialogus Meretricum*, and other poems. According to Leyser, there was in his time in the Library at Leipzig a MS. containing some pieces of Latin verse attributed to Aldhelm.‡ Aimonius

* Introd. p. 78.

† Ista enim sunt ejus verba in calce libri quem fecit de schematibus, "Hæc," inquit, "de metrorum generibus et schematibus pro utilitate ingenii mei habes, multum laboriose, nescio si fructuose, collecta, quamvis mihi conscius sum illud me Virgilianum posse jactare,

> Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
> Aonio rediens deducam vertice musas."

W. Malmsb. ap. Wharton. p. 4.

‡ Historia Poet. et Poem. Med. Æv. p. 202.

Floriacensis has preserved a few fragments of another poem in Latin hexameters, entitled *De Laude Sanctorum*,* which, according to Bale, commenced with the words "Metrica si libet." There are however many reasons for believing that some of these latter indications are not correct. Bede speaks of his two books De Virginitate and "some other writings."† William of Malmsbury, after mentioning these two treatises, and the Ænigmata, says that, besides "many epistles," he wrote a volume, dedicated to Aldfrid king of Northumbria, which contained, in several chapters or treatises, Collections out of the Scriptures and the philosophers on the dignity of the number seven, Exhortations to fraternal love, On the metaphorical and figurative meanings of insensible things, On metrical feet, metaplasm, synalæpha, and the scanning and eclipsis of verses, and a Dialogue on Metres.‡ This last is perhaps the foundation on which Bale built the title *Dialogum Meretricum* (instead of *Metricum*).

Aldhelm's Latin compositions have been frequently cited as an example of the false style of the early Anglo-Latin writers. Even as far back as the twelfth century, William of Malmsbury felt himself obliged to offer an apology for him, grounded on the taste of the age in which he lived.§ His writings are on the one hand filled with Latinized Greek words and with awkward expressions that render them obscure, while on the other they abound in the alliterations and metaphorical language which characterized his native tongue. Aldhelm's prose is much less pleasing than his verse, because it is far less

* Aimon. Flor. Serm. de S. Benedicto, ap. Joh. a Bosco, Biblioth. Floriacens. pp. 292, 3.

† Bede, H. E. v, 18.

‡ W. Malmsb. in Wharton, p. 7.

§ W. Malmsb. as cited in the introduction to the present vol. p. 45.

harmonious. Instead of selecting some of his most extravagant passages, as has usually been done, we will give as a fair specimen of the general style of this writer his account of the martydom of Ruffina and Secunda, from the prose treatise on Virginity.

Præterea Imperantibus Augustis Valeriano et Gallieno, cum fervor torridæ persecutionis et ardor crudelitatis acrius incanduisset, et cœlestis militiæ manipulares, qui pro confessione fidei nequaquam formilodosorum more luctatorum palestram certaminis horruerunt, cruentis carnificum mucronibus necarentur, duæ germanæ virgines vocabulo Ruffina et Secunda, generosis oriundæ natalibus, persecutorum rabiem paulisper declinantes ad prædiolium suum in Tusciæ partibus Basternæ vehiculo properabant, ilico sponsis earum prodentibus nuper ad apostasiæ cloacam, velut molossi ad vomitum relapsis, chiliarco cum equestri turma insequente Romam reducuntur, putido squalentium ergastulorum latibulo mancipandæ, et subsannantis gannaturæ ludibrium laturæ. Posthæc Ruffina cum dirissimis verberum ictibus cæsa et cærulea flagrorum vibice cruentata in conspectu furentis satrapæ vapularet. Secunda constanter ait, "Applica ignes, saxa, gladios, flagella, fustes, et virgas, quot tu pœnas intuleris, tot ego glorias numerabo, quot tu violentias irrogabis, tot ego martyrii computo palmas." Mox identidem in latebroso carceris fundo, quæ fumigabundis fœtentis fimi fœtoribus horrebat, sanctæ virgines includuntur, sed furva caligo cœlesti splendore fugatur, et putidum letamen velut tymiama et nardi pistici fragrantia redolet. Rursus in ardentes thermarum vapores, quæ supposita prunarum congerie torrebantur inclementer, jactari imperantur, sed illæsa membrorum venustate sospites e thermis emersisse leguntur; verum cruenta tortorum severitas reciprocis vicibus toties elisa et labefacta, nec mitescere, nec miscrescere novit. Siquidem famulas Dei ingentis scopuli mole connexas in medio Tyberis alveo sine miserationis respectu mergere jussit, sed undarum gurgites dantes gloriam Deo ab infidelibus denegatam sanctas virgines riparum marginibus incolumes restituunt. Unde satrapa tanta rerum prodigia obstupescens scribitur dixisse, "Istæ aut magica arte nos superant, aut virginitatis in eis sanctitas regnat." Postremo capitalem sortitæ sententiam angelicis evectæ catervis cum vexillo virginitatis ad cœli sidera scandunt.

Of Aldhelm's poems, the Ænigmata are perhaps the most agreeable, as being less inflated than the poem in praise of virgins. In both we observe many attempts to imitate phrases and sentiments of the classic poets, and a frequent recurrence of alliteration. The following is the Acrostic Introduction to the Ænigmata, which we have been enabled by means of the early MS. in the

British Museum, to give more correctly than it appears in the printed editions. It will be observed that the first, *or last*, letter of each line, taken in order, form the line,—

Aldhelmus cecinit millenis versibus odas,

which is interpreted as giving the number of lines of which the Ænigmata originally consisted, and which leaves no doubt, if there could be any, as to the correct mode of writing the poet's name.

Arbiter æthereo jugiter qui regmine sceptra
Lucifluumque simul cœli regale tribunal
Disponis, moderans æternis legibus illud;
Horrida nam multans torsisti membra Behemoth,
Ex alta quondam rueret dum luridus arce,
Limpida dictanti metrorum carmina præsul
Munera nunc largire, rudis quo pandere rerum
Versibus ænigmata queam clandestina fatu.
Sic Deus indignis tua gratis dona rependis,
Castalidas nymphas non clamo cantibus istuc,
Examen neque spargebat mihi nectar in ore,
Cinthi sic nunquam perlustro cacumina, sed nec
In Parnasso procubui, nec somnia vidi.
Nam mihi versificum poterit Deus addere carmen,
Inspirans stolidæ pia gratis munera menti.
Tangit si mentem, mox laudem corda rependunt
Metrica; nam Moysen declarant carmina vatem
Jamdudum cecinisse prisci vexilla trophæi,
Late per populos inlustria, qua nitidus sol
Lustrat ab oceani jam tollens gurgite cephal,
Et psalmista canens metrorum carmina voce
Natum divino promit generamine numen,
In cœlis prius exortum, quam Lucifer orbi
Splendida formatis fudisset lumina sæclis.
Verum si fuerint bene hæc ænigmata versu,
Explosis penitus nevis et rusticitate,
Ritu dactilico recte decursa, nec error
Seduxit vana specie molimina mentis,
Incipiam potiora; sui Deus arida verbi,
Belligero quondam qui vires tradidit Iob,
Viscera perpetui si roris repleat haustu.
Siccis nam laticum duxisti cautibus amnes
Olim, cum cuneus transgresso marmore rubro
Desertum penetrat; cecinit quod carmine David.
Arce poli genitor, servas qui sæcula cuncta,
Solvere jam scelerum noxas dignare nefandas

Of the Anglo-Saxon poetry attributed to Aldhelm, we have now no remains. He is said to have translated the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon verse, but the translation published by Mr. Thorpe, in 1835, has none of the characteristics which might be looked for in his compositions.

Editions of Aldhelm.

Aldhelmus de Virginitate was edited by Jac. Faber, 4to, Davent. 1512. The Ænigmata were printed at Basil in 1557.

S. Aldhelmi, Prisci Occidentalium Saxonum Episcopi, Poetica Nonnulla. E vetere Manu Scripto Codice per R. P. Martinum Delrio societatis Jesu Presbyterum exscripta. Cum nonnullis ejusdem notulis. 12mo. Mogunt. 1601. It contains in reality only the Ænigmata, as the Monosticha are wrongly attributed to Aldhelm. They are given, as it appears, from a MS. in the abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège.

Canisii Antiquæ Lectiones, tom. V. 4to. 1608.—Ed. Basnage, fol. Antw. 1725, tom. i. p. 709—762. The Metrical Treatise de Laude Virginum and the poem de Octo Principalibus Vitiis.

Epistolæ S. Bonifacii Martyris, . . . per Nicolaum Serarium. 4to. Mogunt. 1629. P. 54. Letter from a Scot, or Irishman, to Aldhelm; 57. Aldhelm to King Geruntius; 71. Aldhelm to Osigegyth; 76. Ædilwald to Aldhelm.—These epistles were reprinted in the 13th vol. of the Bibliotheca maxima Vetrum Patrum. They are also found in the new edition of Boniface, published in 1789.

Usher, Veterum Epistolarum Sylloge. 4to. Dubl. 1632. P. 35. The letter of the anonymous Scot to Aldhelm; p. 37. Aldhelm to Eahfrid on his return from Ireland, a letter which begins with fifteen consecutive words each commencing with the letter *p*.—4to, Herbornæ Nassovicorum, 1696. The same letters are found at pp. 32, 35 of this edition. A more accurate text of the letter to Eahfrid is printed in Wharton's Auctuarium to Archb. Usher's Historia Dogmatica, 4to. Lond. 1690, p. 350.

Maxima Bibliotheca Vetrum Patrum, tom. xiii, fol. 1677. p. 1. The two pieces reprinted from Canisius, and the other poems reprinted also from Delrio. They had also been printed in the 8th vol. of the Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, and in the collection of the Hagiographi.

Bedæ Venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica . . . . . et Aldhelmi Episcopi Sciréburnensis Liber de Virginitate, ex Codice antiquissimo emendatus. (by Henry Wharton) 4to. Londini, 1693. pp. 283—369. The prose treatise de Laudibus Virginitatis, from early MSS. in the libraries of Lambeth and Salisbury Cathedral.

EGWIN.

Egwin of Worcester is remarkable as the first Englishman who wrote any thing like an autobiography; but this was only an account of his pretended visions.* The date of his birth is not known; he was a native of the district of the Hwiccas, which appears to have coincided nearly with the present county of Worcester, and he was closely allied by blood to the regal line of Mercia. We are told by his biographer that he had been distinguished for his piety from the early years of childhood, and that he was a favourite councillor of Ethelred king of Mercia, by whom he was placed over the see of Worcester on the death of Oftfor about A.D. 692.

Egwin did not long enjoy his bishopric in tranquillity. Serious charges against him, of what nature we are not informed, but provoked, as it is said, by the rigid severity of his spiritual government, were not only brought before the king, but they reached the ears of the pope, who called the bishop to Rome to clear himself from them. The date of this journey is unknown. Egwin travelled with an outward show of extreme humility; and this, with a miracle which was said to have been exhibited in his behalf on the way, appears to have prevailed more than the exculpations he had to offer, in procuring his acquittal.

* The life of Egwin, composed in part from his own work, is preserved in a noble MS. of the tenth century, MS. Cotton. Nero E. I. fol. 22, r°—32, v°. It has one or two words glossed in Anglo-Saxon. This life has been attributed to Beretwald archbishop of Canterbury. It has never been printed. An abridgment of it, written apparently in the twelfth century, was printed in the Acta Sanctorum, Mens. Januar. vol. i. p. 707, and had previously been inserted in the Nova Legenda Angliæ of Capgrave. Bede has not mentioned Egwin's name; indeed the general information that historian gives relating to the kingdom of Mercia is very incomplete. William of Malmsbury has a brief account of Egwin, de Pontif. p. 284. A life quoted by Godwin (de Præsul.) appears to have differed from those just mentioned.

Before leaving Mercia, he ordered a smith to make for him heavy fetters of iron, closed with locks, "such as they fixed about the feet of horses," and having locked them on his bare legs as instruments of penance, he threw the key into the river Avon, in a place then called Hrudding-Pool.* Thus equipped, he travelled to Dover,† and embarked with his companions in a small vessel which conveyed them by sea to Italy. Whilst he was on the bank of the Tiber performing his devotions and offering thanks for his safe voyage, his fellow attendants had caught a salmon, and, when it was opened in order to prepare it for cooking, their astonishment was great at finding in its belly the key of Egwin's bonds. It appears that the truth of this story was vouched by Egwin himself; it was soon known throughout Rome, and the pope received the English traveller with marked distinction, and sent him home with commendatory letters to king Ethelred, who restored him with honour to the see of Worcester, and committed to his care the education of his children.

Egwin is well known in history as the founder of the celebrated abbey of Evesham, the site of which at the beginning of the eighth century was a wild forest, made dense by shrubs and brambles, and known by the name of Homme (æt-Homme). Among the Anglo-Saxons, a large portion of whose food consisted of bacon, the forests were esteemed a valuable part of landed property, because they afforded subsistence to numerous droves of swine; and Egwin placed this estate, which had been given to

* In loco qui dicitur Hrudding-pól . . . in flumine quod dicitur A'vena. MS. Cotton. Nero E. I., fol. 24, v°. In fluvium Abdona vocatum, Anglice Aven. Life in Act. Sanct. p. 708.

† Perrexit ad oppidum Dorovernensis castelli. MS. Cotton. fol. 24, v°. A similar expression occurs in the rubric on fol. 23, v°. Quomodo vir [Dei] electus [est in] episcopatum et subthronizatus in solio Wygornensis castelli. They are translations of the Anglo-Saxon names Dofra-ceaster and Wigra-ceaster.

him by king Ethelred, under the keeping of four principal swineherds, the chief of whom, named Eoves, seems to have resided at or near the spot on which the abbey was afterwards founded, for from him it took the name of Eoves-ham, or the home or residence of Eoves.* One day a favourite sow, wandering into the thick and unfrequented parts of the forest, was lost; and Eoves, presenting himself before his master the bishop, declared that in searching for it, after forcing his way with great labour through almost impervious thickets, he came to an open space where to his astonishment he beheld three maidens clad in heavenly garments and singing divine music. It was probably a popular legend which the bishop adopted to serve his own purposes; the Anglo-Saxons believed firmly that the wild woods were peopled by nymphs, who according to old legends were frequently seen in triads. Egwin however declared that he visited the spot indicated by his swine-herd, and that he was himself favoured with the same vision; and he intimated his belief that the three personages were the Virgin Mary and two angels, and his determination to found a monastery in this part of the forest, which he ordered to be cleared for that purpose.†

* MS. Cotton. fol. 26, r°. Life in the Act. Sanct. p. 708. The seal of the monastery, engraved in the second vol. of the new edition of the Monasticon, and in the Archæologia, vol. xix. pl. v. appears by the language to have been cut in the thirteenth century, and represents the Swineherd with the following inscription.

> "Eoves her wonede ant was swon,
> For-þi men clepet þis Eovishom."

> "Eoves here dwelt and was a swain,
> Therefore men call this Eovesham."

† There appears to be some reason for believing that the monastery of Evesham, like many others, was founded among or near the ruins of an ancient town. William of Malmsbury states that Egwin found the remains of an older church locum illum, quo nunc cœnobium visitur . . . . incultum antea et spinetis horridum, sed ecclesiolam ab antiquo habentem, ex opere forsitan Britannorum. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. p. 284.

These events appear to have occurred in the year 703, a few months before the death of king Ethelred, whose successor Coinred (or Kénred) continued to show the same friendship to Egwin, and granted him lands on the banks of the Avon towards the endowment of his foundation. The monastery was finished before 709, for in that year Egwin was with the two kings Coinred and Offa at Rome, whither he went to obtain from the pope a charter of privileges.* His stay at Rome on this his second visit must have been very short; for he was in England at the time of Aldhelm's death, said to have taken place on the 25th of May, 709. After his return he read the papal charter at a meeting of the English clergy at Alnecester, or Alcester, over which Berctwald archbishop of Canterbury presided; and they proceeded thence to Evesham to consecrate the church. Egwin tells us in express terms that Wilfred of York was present at this ceremony;† which therefore we can hardly place later than the summer of 709, because Wilfred died before the end of the year. In his latter years, Egwin resigned his bishopric and retired to his monastery. The date of his death is very uncertain. According to the Life in the Acta Sanctorum it occurred about 720; John of Tinmouth (the compiler of the collection published under the name of Capgrave) places it in 718; Bale makes it 716, and Godwin 714. Perhaps the date given by John of Tinmouth is the most probable. The day of his death has been handed down to us with greater precision. The life attributed to Berctwald says that he died on the 3 Cal. Jan. (the 30th Dec.)‡

* The charters of foundation, the authenticity of which have however been doubted, are printed in the second volume of the Monasticon.

† Life in the Cotton. MS. fol. 27, v°.

‡ The epitaph, given in the extract printed by Godwin, de Præsul. indicates the day of his death in the following lines—

Vita migravit cum solis per Capricornum
Tertius ac decimus medians existeret ortus.

It would perhaps be impossible, with the partial information which remains, to form a just estimate of Egwin's character. His miracles rest on his own testimony; and when we consider his story of a key carried by a salmon from the Avon to the Tiber, his pretended vision at Evesham, and his own assertion that the death of Aldhelm was also revealed to him in a vision, we can hardly acquit him of having imposed upon his contemporaries by a series of pious frauds. During the latter years of his life, he appears to have lived at Evesham secluded from the world, and he believed, or pretended, that he was favoured with visions. One of them, given at length in Egwin's own words by the composer of his life, has the character of a moral allegory, in which he, as the representative of humanity, is exposed to the various temptations of the world, represented by a pagan city, which he overcomes only by divine interference. The writer of the shorter life has interpreted this allegory literally; and has so entirely misunderstood it, as to turn it into, or confound it with, a singularly wild legend of the destruction of the ancient city which occupied the site of Alcester.*

Bale attributes to Egwin three works, a history of the Foundation of Evesham, a Book of Visions, and a Life of Aldhelm. The latter, if it ever existed, is now lost. The other two are without doubt the same as those from which his biographer has given such copious extracts;† but it is difficult to say whether they still existed in the time of Bale, and it is equally uncertain whether they were separate books, or only parts of one work. From the extracts, we are led to suspect that the account of the foundation of Evesham was merely

* See the Life in the Acta Sanctorum, p. 710, and in Capgrave.

† Egwin's account of his own actions begins at fol. 25, v° of the Cottonian MS., and his vision extends from fol. 28, v°. to fol. 31, v°.

introductory to the narrative of Egwin's visions; and that these latter were in truth but allegories to which he attempted to give weight by representing them as revelations. Egwin's own account of the vision of his swineherd Eoves is sufficiently interesting to be given as a specimen of his work: it has a considerable local value, as a curious picture of the times at a very remote period;* and it is inedited.

Erat sane his diebus locus qui dicitur Eoveshamm, et alio nomine nuncupatur æt Homme, frondosis silvis et densis vepribus plenus, quem ego levi petitione a rege Æþelredo Dei amico adquisivi. Accepta potestate super prædictam silvam, bis binos subulcos inibi constitui, principatum eis concedentes, dirimens in quatuor partibus eandem silvam, sicut quondam Judea erat tetrarchis dirempta. Nomina subulcorum, Eoves et Ympa, duo fratres fuerunt, Trottuc et Cornuc, duo fratres erant. Primus autem, qui Eoves dictus est, orientalem plagam accepit in dominationem; alter vero meridianam ad necessitatem sui domini retinuit; tertius denique occidentalem sub sua sagaci tuitione protexit; quartus igitur borealem nobili custodia ab omni hostis incursione servavit. Ille autem subulcus qui super cæteros eminebat Eoves appellatus est, ex cujus nominis nuncupatione locus nomen suscepit, hoc est Eoveshamm. Cumque regimen a me illi collatum decenter atque sollicite servassent, contuli unicuique partem porcorum sicuti habebant partes silvæ. Contigit quadam die cum tempus adesset pasturiendi, ut sus illius viri qui Eoves dictus est clam se abderet et in densis vepribus illius silvæ proiceret prægnans ignorante custode. At ille expectabat biduo vel triduo, cogitans et sperans illam ad se more solito venire, quod nequaquam factum est. Consternatus vero animo ille cœpit pallescere, tremere, et hac illac discurrere, sodales querulosis vocibus petere ut secum quærerent thesaurum sui domini absconditum. Verebat enim me vehementer servus, quasi essem austerus homo tollens quod non contuli, et metens quod non seminavi. Deinde post excursum paucorum dierum, dum ille timoratus undique vias perambulabat non bonas, cernit tandem suam procedentem e silva porcellam, non solam, sed quaternos atque ternos secum habens porcellos. Ille autem ab oculis omnem glaucomiam et algemam expulsit, qui vocavit eam sua appellatione, quæ audiens vocem agnitam eminus sibi venit gaudens ad ipsum, cadens ad pedes, quam mox sui suggere cœperunt. Subulcus vero lætus est effectus non modica lætitia de inventione tanti thesauri, qui jurejurando juravit quod nequaquam eum amplius sic relinquere deberet. Adveniente identidem tempore pasturiendi, sus secreta petivit dulcia, quæ ut superius dixi progressa est, eundem laterculum quem ante habens, qui omnes albi erant exceptis auris et pedibus. Tertio quoque tempore

* Cotton. MS. fol. 26, r°.

similiter delusit virum, qui consternatus et turbatus spiritu in furorem est conversus, advocans socios consilium quærit ab eis, qui ei persuaserunt ut quæreret sollicite. Tum ille iter asperum arripuit, nunc susum nunc iosum (*sic*) progrediens, minime invenire potuit quod quæsivit. Cumque perosa via invalidum lassabundum redderet virum, sumpsit dimicare ille impos contra infortunium sibi proventum, qui abjecta segnitie et recepta valetudine tandem sollicitudine ajuvata invenit quod quæsivit, suem cum suis porcellis viiii[cem] scilicet jacentem in loco nimis spisso vepribus. Agnoscens illa illum mireque ejus vocem exhauriens, venit ad eum. Ille autem cum hac illac sollicitos emitteret visus, vidit quod dici mirum est, quandam virginem stantem cum aliis duabus psallentem et librum in manu perpulchrum tenentem. Erat autem tam speciosa quæ in meditullio stabat, ut non solum species excelleret omnes omnium virginum, verum etiam ut ipsi visum est pulchrior erat quam jubar solaris globi, splendidior liliis, rubicundior rosis, quam præ pulchritudine non audebat respicere, sed vocata porcella domi redit, et vilico retulit quæ vidit. Ille autem introduxit ad me subulcum, qui cadens ad pedes meos subrigitur ad genua mea, quem percontatus sic ad eum exorsus sum.

EDDIUS STEPHANUS.

Concerning this person, called by Bede Æddi, but known best by his Latinized name Eddius,* very little information has come down to us, further than that he was honoured with the friendship of Wilfred, who invited him from Kent to instruct the churches of Northumbria in the Romish method of chanting.† Bale and Pits, on no other authority than the statement of Bede that he was brought from Kent, call him a monk of Canterbury. From his own narrative, it appears that he was present with his patron at the council of Eastrefeld,‡ and that he never quitted him during his subsequent troubles. He was with him at Rome from 693 to 705, when they returned to England, and Eddius seems to have become an inmate of the monastery of Ripon. After Wilfred's death (709), he continued to enjoy the friendship of Tatbert

* Tanner and others call him Heddius Stephanus. In the orthography of the MSS. the *h* is omitted or added without any rule, either capriciously or inattentively. Bede gives Æddi, not Hæddi.

† Bede, H. E. iv. 2.

‡ See pp. 180, 181, of the present volume.

abbot of Ripon, and Acca bishop of Durham, and at their joint request, as he tells us in his preface, he wrote his account of Wilfred's life. He is said to have died about the year 720.

Bale says that Eddius wrote lives of Eanbert and Tunbert, but no such books are now known to exist. Few works, independent of Bede's History, throw so much light on the history of the latter part of the seventh century as his life of Wilfred, which is also written in a style superior to that of most of his contemporaries. We have already had occasion to give many short extracts from this work: the following account of the state of the church of York when Wilfred was first made bishop, will perhaps help to give an idea of its character. (Vit. Wilf. p. 59.)

Igitur supradicto rege regnante, beatæ memoriæ Wilfrido episcopo metropolitano Eboracæ civitatis constituto, basilicæ oratorii Dei, in ea civitate a sancto Paulino episcopo in diebus olim Eadwini Christianissimi regis primo fundatæ et dedicatæ Deo, officia semiruta lapidea eminebant. Nam culmina antiquata tecti distillantia, fenestræque apertæ, avibus nidificantibus intro et foras volitantibus, et parietes incultæ, omni spurcitia imbrium et avium horribiles manebant. Videns itaque hæc omnia sanctus pontifex noster, secundum prophetam Danielem, 'horruit spiritus ejus,' in eo quod domus Dei et orationis quasi speluncam latronum factam agnovit; et mox juxta voluntatem Dei emendare excogitavit, primum culmina corrupta tecti renovans, artificiose plumbo puro tegens, per fenestras introitum avium et imbrium vitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiebat. Parietes quoque lavans, secundum prophetam, 'super nivem dealbavit;' eam enim non solum domum Dei et altare in varia supellectili vasorum intus ornavit, verum etiam deforis multa territoria pro Deo adeptus, terrenis opibus paupertatem diferens, copiose ditavit. Tunc sententia Dei de Samuele et omnibus sanctis in eo implebatur, 'qui,' inquit, 'me honorificat, honorificabo eum;' erat enim Deo et omni populo carus et honorabilis.

Editions of the Life of Wilfrid.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum iv. pars i. fol. Lut. Paris. 1677. Appendix, p. 672—722. Printed from the Cottonian MS. Vespas. D. vi., of which a Transcript was sent to Mabillon by Thomas Gale.

Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores XV.. . . . Opera Thomæ Gale, Th. Pr. Fol. Oxon. 1691. pp. 40—90. The text improved by a MS. at Salisbury.

JOHN OF BEVERLEY.

JOHN, the founder of the celebrated abbey of Beverley, was, like many of the prelates and abbots of his age, descended from a very noble Northumbrian family.* He was born at Harpham in Yorkshire, near Driffield, the burial place of the pious and learned King Aldfrid; and he is said by some writers to have received his first instructions under the abbess Hilda.† Immediately after the arrival of Theodore in England, John was sent to Kent, and there pursued his studies with zeal during several years. When he returned to Northumberland, his first care was to visit Whitby; but Hilda was then dead, and had been succeeded in 680 by Elfleda the daughter of King Oswiu, and after a brief stay there, John wandered about for some time instructing the people by his preaching and encouraging them by his pious example. He next opened a school, and taught with great success, his reputation for learning having brought together many scholars, among whom was the historian Bede, who was ordained to the priesthood by his hand.‡

* Bede gives an account of John of Beverley and his miracles in his History, v. 2—6. A life of him was written by Folcard, or Folchard, an Anglo-Norman monk of the eleventh century, which is printed in the Acta Sanctorum Maii, tom. ii. p. 168. An abridged copy of this life, with another brief anonymous life, will be found in Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Leland, in his Collectanea, has given extracts from another anonymous life, which, like that ascribed to Asketyll, appears to be no longer extant. All these lives are based more or less on the account given by Bede. A few notices will also be found in the northern historians Simeon of Durham and Richard of Hexham.

† Bede and the biographers now extant do not mention this circumstance, but Leland and Bale may have taken it from some of the authorities now lost.

‡ Litterarum enim affluenti imbutus copia, in docendis discipulis suis solerti instabat vigilantia; inter quos Bedam, &c. Folcardus, p. 169. See also Bede's own declaration, at the end of his History.

In the year 685, or 686, a short time before Wilfred's return from his first exile, John had succeeded Eata as bishop of Hexham; but he was obliged to retire from his see, when that of York was restored to its ancient integrity. When, in 692, Wilfred was again deprived, John returned to Hexham, and continued to preside over that diocese until his elevation to the metropolitan see of York, on the death of Bosa, which appears to have occurred about the time when Wilfred finally returned to Northumberland to occupy the bishopric of Hexham.* This was in the year 705, the same in which Osred ascended the throne. Folcard relates that at a synod of the clergy and nobles of Northumbria, over which king Osred presided, and in which were promulgated many salutary laws for the government of the church, the bishop John feasted that monarch and his court with extraordinary magnificence.†

Various circumstances mentioned by his biographers, show John's inclination for a life of solitude. Before he was made bishop of Hexham, he is said to have taken possession of a hermitage at Hameshalg in Northumberland. While he held that bishopric, he frequently retired to an oratory on a solitary hill named Erneshow (or the Eagle's mount), not far from Hexham, amid the forest on the banks of the river Tyne.‡ After his elevation to the

* In Stevenson's edition of Bede, the date 686 is placed in the margin of the chapter which relates this event, probably by a mere oversight. In ch. 6. Bede, who gives the date of his resignation of York in 718, says, "mansit autem in episcopatu annos triginta tres. This was evidently intended to include the period from his first appointment to the see of Hexham to his resignation of that of York, and, if we suppose that Bede meant that he had just completed that number of years, would fix the former event in 686. But Folcard states the period just mentioned to have been thirty-three years eight months and thirteen days, which would carry back his first appointment to the see of Hexham to the year 685.

† Folcard, p. 171.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 2. Folcard, p. 169. Richard of Hexham, ap. Twisden, col. 291. Chron. Th. Stubbs, ib. col. 1692.

see of York, he chose for the place of his retirement the wild region bordering on the river Hull, which was then known by the name of Dera-wuda, the wood of the Deras or Deiri (in-Dera-vuda, Bede); the extreme solitude of the spot which he selected for the site of his small monastery is proved by the name by which it was afterwards known, Beofor-leag, or the lea of beavers, now Beverley.* Over this monastery, which he often visited, John placed his friend and deacon Bercthun; and when he felt the approach of old age, he resigned his archbishopric in 718, and retired thither to pass the remainder of his days in peace. He died there in 721; according to the old chroniclers, on the seventh day of May.

In England, during many centuries, the name of John of Beverley was held in the greatest reverence, and the fame of his pretended miracles was very widely spread. The cry of St. John, nearly as frequently as that of St. George, particularly in the Scottish wars, gave courage to the soldier in the hour of battle. Bede has inserted in his history an account of some of John's miracles which he had learnt from the abbot Bercthun, several of which may be explained by natural causes, such as the restoring speech to a dumb man, which he effected by patiently teaching him first to articulate simple sounds, and then gradually practising him in the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet and their combinations in words.† Another of these miracles affords us a curious specimen of the kind of science which was taught in Theodore's school. One day John entered the nunnery of Wetadun (supposed to be Watton in Yorkshire), where the abbess called him to visit a sister in whom the operation of bleeding had been followed by dangerous symptoms. When he was informed that she had been bled on the fourth day of the moon, he

* Bede, H. E. v. 2, 6. † Bede, H. E. v. 2.

blamed the abbess severely for her ignorance; for, said he, "I remember that archbishop Theodore of blessed memory said that bleeding was very dangerous at that time, when both the light of the moon and the flood of the ocean are on the increase."*

Although there is no work now extant bearing his name, it is by no means improbable that John of Beverley was an author. Of his learning there cannot be a doubt. Bale attributes to him Homilies and Epistles.

CEOLFRID.

CEOLFRID, or Ceolfrith, the friend and coadjutor of Benedict Biscop, was born about the year 642, and was probably a native of the kingdom of Northumbria.† He is first mentioned in 674, as aiding Benedict in the foundation of the abbey of Wearmouth; and about the year 687 he accompanied him to Rome. A little later (about 681) Benedict made him abbot of his smaller monastery at Yarrow; in 685, he again took him with him to Rome; and on his death-bed, in 690, he appointed him to succeed as abbot of Wearmouth.‡

Ceolfrid was an active, learned, and zealous man, and worthy to be the successor of Benedict Biscop. He increased the library which had been formed by his predecessor; and enriched the monastery, by obtaining from

* Multum insipienter et indocte fecistis in luna quarta phlebotomando. Memini enim beatæ memoriæ Theodorum archiepiscopum dicere, quia periculosa sit satis illius temporis phlebotomia, quando et lumen lunæ et rheuma oceani in cremento est. Bede, H. E. v. 3.

† The chief and almost only authority for the life of Ceolfrid is his disciple Bede, who has given an account of him in his History of the Abbots of Wearmouth, and a few slighter notices in his Ecclesiastical History. The Life in Capgrave, Nova Legenda Angliæ, foll. lx—lxii, is entirely taken from Bede.

‡ See the account of Benedict Biscop, in the present volume.

King Aldfrid a grant of lands on the river "Fresca," which were afterwards exchanged for an estate nearer the monastery, at a place then named Sambuce.* By some monks whom he sent to Rome, Ceolfrid obtained from pope Sergius a new charter of privileges for the monastery, or rather a renewal of those which had been given to Benedict by pope Agatho. Ceolfrid continued to preside over the two monasteries of Wearmouth and Yarrow during twenty-six years;† and he appears to have occupied himself exclusively with his monks, in study and teaching. The celebrity of his school, in which Bede imbibed his great learning, was very extensive; and in 701, the pope sent a messenger to invite one of his monks to advise with him in deciding certain ecclesiastical questions of great difficulty.‡ A few years afterwards, (about A.D. 710) Ceolfrid's advice was sought by Naitan king of the Picts, who had become a convert to the Romish practice concerning Easter and the tonsure; and, at the earnest solicitation of that prince, he sent him a letter setting forth the arguments on which this was founded, and, along with it, architects to build a stone church after the Roman style.§ The letter has been preserved by Bede.

When age and sickness announced to Ceolfrid the near approach of death, he was suddenly seized with the desire of ending his days in the apostolical city. Bede, who was probably one of the actors in it, describes the scene of parting with pathetic minuteness. The monks urged him to stay, for they saw that he wanted strength for so long a journey, and they feared that he would die on the way. But their efforts were vain; and on Thurs-

* Bede, Hist. Ab. Wir. p. 47.

† Bede, ib. p. 56.

‡ See a more particular account of this letter in the life of Bede.

§ Sed et architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent. Bede, H. E. v. 21.

day the fourth day of June (716), immediately after the first religious service of the day had been performed, Ceolfrid prepared for his departure, amid the lamentations of those with whom he had passed so many tranquil years. The monks, about six hundred in number, were assembled in the church at Wearmouth, and Ceolfrid, after having prayed, stood by the altar, holding in his hand the censer with burning incense, and gave them his peace. They then left the church and moved towards the shore, their chaunts being frequently interrupted by loud sobs. When they came to the dormitory, Ceolfrid entered the oratory of St. Laurence, which stood there, and delivered his last admonition, urging the monks to persevere in brotherly love, to keep strict discipline, and to be constant in their duties to God; and he ended by requesting their prayers for himself. On the bank of the river Tyne he gave them severally the kiss of peace; and they then fell on their knees and received his blessing. He was accompanied across the river by the deacons of the church, bearing lighted tapers and the cross of gold. When he reached the opposite shore, he reverenced the cross, and then mounted the horse which was to carry him to the place of embarkation. On their return to Wearmouth the first care of the monks was the election of a successor; and their new abbot, named Hwetbert, was immediately dispatched with a few of the brethren to see Ceolfrid for the last time. They found him on the coast, waiting for a ship; and when Hwetbert acquainted him with what had passed since his departure from amongst them, he approved their choice and confirmed the election, and then received from the new abbot a commendatory letter to pope Gregory.*

The apprehensions of the monks were soon verified; for,

* Bede, Hist. Ab. Wir. pp. 48—52.

after journeying slowly through France, as he was approaching the city of Langres (Lingonas) in the diocese of Lyons, on the twenty-fifth of September of the same year, Ceolfrid became suddenly so feeble that his attendants were obliged to halt in the midst of the fields, where he died almost immediately. His body was deposited in the monastery of the Twin Martyrs in the southern suburb of that city; and his companions returned to England to bear the tidings to his friends. Bede, who gives the date of Ceolfrid's death, tells us that he was then seventy-four years of age, and that he had been forty-seven years a presbyter and thirty-five years an abbot, including of course the period during which he presided only over the monastery of Yarrow.* His bones were afterwards removed from Langres and carried to Wearmouth; and at a subsequent period, on the approach of the Danes who reduced that monastery to ruins, they were again taken up by the monks, and, with those of the abbess Hilda, finally deposited at Glastonbury.†

Ceolfrid would merit a place among the Anglo-Saxon writers, if he had written nothing but the letter, or tract, on the observance of Easter, addressed to the king of the Picts.‡ It is distinguished by clearness of style, and remarkable vigour and perspicuity, if we consider that the writer was then in his sixty-eighth year. Bale attributes to Ceolfrid, Homilies, Epistles, and other works, amongst which one, he says, treated De sua peregrinatione. Little credit however can be given to this statement, as Bale had evidently not seen the books he describes.

* Bede, ib. p. 56, and in his book De sex ætatibus Mundi, p. 117. (Opera, Col. 1688, vol. ii.)

† W. Malmsb. de Gestis Reg. Angl. p. 22.

‡ This tract forms the twenty-first chapter of the fifth book of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. It is printed, from Bede, in Capgrave's life of Ceolfrid, and in other works.

EGBERT.

THE name of Egbert, or, in its more ancient form, Ecgberct, was common among the Anglo-Saxons, and was borne by several persons who ranked high in literature and science. The one of whom we have now to speak was born of a noble family,* and is supposed by some to have been a native of the district of the South Saxons,† the inhabitants of which were not converted to Christianity till long after the period of his birth, which occurred in the year 639. He was one of the numerous Anglo-Saxons who, in the time of Finan and Colman (651—664), went to Ireland to embrace the monastic life; and Egbert with his friend Ædilhun entered the monastery of Rathmelsigi, said to be the modern Mellifont in the county of Meath. They were in this house in 664, when the great pestilence, which carried off so many distinguished ecclesiastics in England, ravaged the sister island, and drove the monks of Rathmelsigi from their dwelling. Egbert and his friend, both sick of the plague, were left to their fate, and, as death approached, the reflections of the former were turned towards the errors of his youth. Suddenly, perhaps in a fit of delirium, he crept from the infirmary into the open air, and there, seized with compunction for the sins of his past life, he burst into tears, and prayed with fervency that God would spare him long enough to atone for them by penitence

* Duo juvenes magnæ indolis de nobilibus Anglorum, Ædilhun et Ecgbert. Bede, H. E. iii, 27.

† See Tanner, Bibliothec. Angl. Hib.

and good works, and made a vow that he would remain during the rest of his life an exile from his native land, that he would daily repeat the whole of the Psalter, and that he would entirely abstain from food one day every week. Refreshed in mind and body by this act of devotion, Egbert returned to his bed, and again laid himself down to seek repose. A few minutes afterwards, Ædilhun awoke from a quiet slumber, and, turning to his companion, said, "O brother Egbert! what hast thou been doing? I expected we should enter together the life everlasting; but now know that thy prayer has been granted, and I go alone!" The night following Ædilhun expired. Such is the story which Bede repeats from the relation of one who had heard it from Egbert's mouth.* The latter recovered, was received into the sacerdotal order, and spent the remainder of a long life in great humility and piety.

Egbert remained in Ireland forty-two years after the event above mentioned. Alcuin calls him a bishop;† but the manner in which Bede speaks of him makes it very improbable that he ever attained that dignity. About the year 689, conscious of the little utility of the solitary life he was then leading among the Irish, Egbert was seized with the desire of visiting Germany to preach the gospel among the unconverted branches of the great Teutonic family. But when he had selected his companions, and every thing was ready for their departure, he was induced to relinquish the project by the earnest persuasions of one of his friends, who asserted that the holy abbot Boisil had twice appeared to him in a dream, and declared to him that it

* Bede, H. E. v, 27. Sicut mihi referebat quidam veracissimus et venerandæ canitiei presbyter, qui se hæc ab ipso audisse perhibebat.

† Beatissimi patris et episcopi Egberti, qui cognomento Sanctus vocabatur. Alcuin. Vit. Willibrordi, lib. i, c. 4.

was God's will that Egbert should remain in Ireland, as he was destined to be the instrument of converting the monks of Iona to the church of Rome. Egbert, reluctantly, as we are told, obeyed the admonition, and Wicbert, one of his companions, proceeded to Germany, but soon returned without any success; and Egbert, still unwilling to relinquish the hope of converting his German brethren, was shortly afterwards instrumental in procuring the mission of Wilbrord.*

A long period transpired before Egbert, perhaps discouraged by the failure of Adamnan, effected the object for which he is said to have relinguished the mission to Germany. According to Bede, he went to Iona in 716, when he was in his seventy-eighth year. Whether he had previously taken steps to persuade the monks of that island to accept the rules which they had so long opposed, we are not informed; but it appears certain from the account given by Bede that a large party among them were prepared to receive him, and we learn from another source,† that in the following year (717) those who still remained obstinate were banished from the island by Naiton king of the Picts. Egbert remained thirteen years in Iona, and died on Easter-day, the twenty-fourth of April, 729, immediately after he had performed the service allotted to that festival according to the regulations of the church of Rome, which he had been the means of establishing there. He had then reached the great age of ninety years.‡

* Bede, H. E. v. 9.

† The Annals of Ulster, quoted by Usher, Primord. p. 702.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 22; and De Sex Ætat. Mundi, p. 117 (Opera, tom. ii.). In the latter passage, Bede says that Egbert converted many districts of Ireland, by his preaching, to the regulations of the church of Rome on the subject of Easter, plurimas Scoticæ gentis provincias ad canonicam paschalis temporis observantiam, a qua diutius aberraverant, pia prædicatione convertit.

We have no direct evidence that Egbert was an author; but the important part which he acted in the ecclesiastical history of the time is a sufficient reason for admitting his otherwise doubtful claim to a place among the literary Anglo-Saxons. Leland attributes to him a work *De Observatione Paschali;* and Bale adds to this a treatise *De Ritibus Catholicorum*, and "conciones varias."

EADFRITH, TOBIAS, AND BERCTWALD.

Three prelates of the earlier part of the eighth century, whose claims to a literary reputation are somewhat doubtful, are generally included in the lists of Anglo-Saxon writers, Eadfrith, Tobias, and Berctwald.

Eadfrith was bishop of the ancient see of Lindisfarne (afterwards removed to Durham), from 698 to 721. Very little is known of this prelate: Bale, Godwin, and others, have confounded him with Egbert archbishop of York, to whom Bede addressed his letter on the episcopal duties, and not, as they suppose, to the bishop of Lindisfarne. By similar misinterpretations, Eadfrith has been placed at the head of the lists of early translators of the Bible. Although he is not mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History, we know that Eadfrith was a friend of Bede, who dedicated to him his prose life of St. Cuthbert, which he had written at his request. He appears to be the same as Eahfrid to whom Aldhelm dedicates one of his letters, and consequently he had visited Ireland, perhaps before the period of his election to the bishopric of Lindisfarne. If we have no reason for believing that Eadfrith was an author, we have a noble monument of his taste for letters in the magnificent manuscript of the Latin text of the Gospels written with his own hand at Lindisfarne, and preserved in the

Cottonian Library, where it bears the shelf-mark Nero, D. IV. This manuscript, which is commonly known by the name of the *Durham Book*, will be described in the account of Aldred, who was the author of the interlinear translation in Anglo-Saxon which accompanies it.

Of Tobias, who was consecrated to the see of Rochester by archbishop Berctwald about the year 693, we know very little. He was instructed by Theodore and Adrian, and was one of the most learned men of his time. Bede speaks on two occasions of his profound knowlege of the Latin, Greek, and Saxon languages, in words which lead us to suppose that he did not despise the study of the literary antiquities of his native land.* In 694, the year after his election to the see of Rochester, he was present at the council or synod of Bacanfeld (Beaconsfield), where Witred king of Kent promised to preserve the liberties and immunities of the monasteries and churches.† He died in 726. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that a man of so much reputation for learning in that age must have been an author; yet no ancient writer mentions any of his books, and nothing now remains bearing his name. Bale attributes to him, as he does to many supposititious writers, "Homilies and Epistles;" and he speaks very positively of the existence of works written by Tobias, which, he says, were composed "with the elegance of Demosthenes!"‡

Berctwald, or, as he is called by some writers,§ Brithwald, has already been mentioned in the life of Wilfred as

* Tobiam . . . virum Latina, Græca, et Saxonica lingua atque eruditione multipliciter instructum. Bede, H. E. v. 3. Conf. H. E. v. 23.

† Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 330.

‡ Perpauca tamen habentur ejus scripta, sed Demosthenico lepore exculto. Bale, De Scrip. Maj. Brit. p. 90.

§ Godwin, de Episc. The latter is simply a more modernised form of the other: both signify *bright-wood*.

the successor of Theodore, and is remarkable for having occupied the see of Canterbury during the long period of thirty-eight years and six months, if we count from the time of his election. By a comparison of the different dates connected with his life, we arrive naturally at the conclusion that Berctwald was born about the middle of the seventh century. He is said to have been first a monk at Glastonbury; but it may be stated with more certainty that he was made abbot of Reculver sometime previous to the year 679, when his name occurs in a grant to that monastery of which the original charter is still preserved.* He was elected to the see of Canterbury on the first day of July 692, and was ordained on the twenty-ninth of June in the following year, by Godwin the Frankish bishop of Lyons. He died, according to Bede, on the thirtieth day of January, 731, at a very advanced age (longa consumtus ætate).† The historian just mentioned describes Berctwald as a man well versed in the scriptures and in the ecclesiastical and monastic institutes, though far inferior to his predecessor Theodore. He is said to have been the compiler of the Life of Egwin of Worcester described on a former occasion;‡ but this is rendered more than doubtful by the circumstance that an event is mentioned in the latter part of that tract which occurred in the tenth century. It is however possible that the passage containing this allusion may be an interpolation.

* Bede, H. E. v. 8. and Mr. Stevenson's note. The charter is preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, Aug. II, 2.

† Bede, H. E. v. 23.

‡ See p. 223, of the present volume.

TATWINE.

BERCTWALD was succeeded by Tatwine,* a native of Mercia, and monk of Briudun (Breodone, in Worcestershire), where he had distinguished himself by his "religion and prudence" and by his solid knowledge of the scriptures. He was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury on the tenth day of June, 731, being then probably an old man, and was in possession of that see when Bede concluded his history.† During his short prelacy, there arose a dispute between the sees of York and Canterbury for the primacy, which was decided by pope Gregory III. in favour of the latter; and Tatwine, who had gone in person to Rome to support the claim of his see, received the pallium from the pope's hands.‡ Tatwine died in 734, according to some old authorities on the thirtieth of July.§

Tatwine must be considered as the second in point of date of the Anglo-Latin poets. His small book of Ænigmata, in Latin hexameters, is still preserved,|| but has not been printed, although it is quite worthy to be placed by

* The ignorance of Scribes has produced many corruptions of this name, such as Cadwine, Scadwine, &c. In the MS. which contains his Ænigmata, it is written Tautun (Incipiunt Enigmata Tautuni. MS. Reg. 12 C. XXIII. fol. 121, v°.) It appears that in Anglo-Saxon the name was Tátwine, which will easily explain the form *Tau*tun.

† Bede, H. E. v. 23.

‡ Godwin. de Episc. p. 63.

§ The brief continuation of Bede, Simeon of Durham, and Roger Hoveden, give this date. W. Malmsbury says simply that he died in the same year as Bede.

|| In MS. Reg. 12 C. XXIII. which contains also the Ænigmata of Aldhelm, Symposius, &c. and is probably the same manuscript which Leland saw at Glastonbury. It appears to be of the ninth century, and is the only copy of the Ænigmata of Tatwine known.

the side of the similar work of Aldhelm. His verses, without being remarkable for their excellence, are superior to those of his contemporary Bede; his expressions, it is true, are often obscure, but this was perhaps a quality required by the subject. The three specimens which follow, are illustrative of the manners of the age, and two of them are intimately connected with literature: the second shows that the pens of the Anglo-Saxon scribes of the seventh and eighth centuries were most commonly made of quills.

De Membranis.

Efferus exuviis populator me spoliavit,
Vitalis pariter flatus spiramina dempsit,
In planum me iterum campum sed verterat auctor,
Frugiferos cultor sulcos mox irrigat undis;
Omnigenam nardi messem mea prata rependunt,
Qua sanis victum et læsis præstabo medelam.

De Penna.

Nativa penitus ratione, heu, fraudor ab hoste!
Nam superas quondam pernix auras penetrabam;
Vincta tribus nunc in terris persolvo tributum,
Planos compellor sulcare per æquora campos,
Causa laboris, amoris, tum fontes lacrimarum
Semper compellit me aridis infundere sulcis.

De Acu.

Torrens me genuit fornax de viscere flammæ,
Condior invalido et finxit me corpore luscam;
Sed constat nullum jam me sine vivere posse;
Est mirum dictu! cludem ni lumina vultus,
Condere non artis penitus molimina possum.

Such writings as these seem to have occupied the lighter hours of leisure of the Anglo-Saxon monks, and to have been always considered as literary amusements, or *jeux-d'esprit*. The Ænigmata of Tatwine present a similar ingenious device to that which has been observed in the prologue to those of Aldhelm, although it does not here

conceal the author's name. Tatwine concludes his book with the following lines:—

> Versibus intextis vatem nunc jure solutat,
> Litterulas summa capitum hortans jungere primas,
> Versibus extremas hisdem ex minio coloratos,
> Conversus gradiens rursum perscandat ab imo.*

Accordingly, if we take in order the first letter of each of the forty enigmas of which the book is composed, and then returning back take the last letter of each first line, we obtain the following lines, the first of which is identical with the first line of the book:—

> Sub deno quater haec diverse enigmata torquens
> Stamine metrorum extructor conserta retexit.

Bale pretends that Tatwine wrote other poems which are not now extant.

FELIX.

Felix of Croyland, so called because he is said to have been a monk of that abbey, was probably a native of the district of the Gyrwas, or the fen-lands, now Lincolnshire. We find no record of the dates of his birth or death, but he is generally considered as having flourished about the year 730. He enjoyed the friendship of Alfwald king of the East Angles, who reigned from 713 to 749. At Croyland, Felix had an opportunity of gathering many traditions of St. Guthlac, who first settled in that wild spot, and he tells us that he had the further advantage of conversing with those who had been his personal acquaintances, for Guthlac did not die till 714. With the materials thus collected, he compiled a life of the saint,

* No attempt has been made to correct the errors of the MS. in these extracts.

which is interesting for its historical allusions, and for the light which it throws upon the early superstitions of our forefathers. Felix dedicated the book, when finished, to his patron king Alfwald.

Mabillon, who first printed this life of Guthlac complete in the Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, concluded from the opening paragraph of the prologue, in which Bede is mentioned with the title of saint,* that it must have been written subsequent to that scholar's death, and therefore that Felix must be considered a later writer than Bede. There can be no doubt however that the words relating to Bede are interpolated, as they are not found in any of the more ancient manuscripts,† and there are no other circumstances to guide us in fixing the date of the book. The general tenor of the prologue conveys the impression that Cave fixed on too early a date, when he stated that Felix wrote about the year 715. In the life of Guthlac, Felix promises to unite at a future period a narrative of his miracles, but, if he ever put this project in execution, the work is not now in existence. Bale, indeed, speaks as though he had seen it, and says that it commenced with the words *quodam tempore jucundæ recordationis;* but he alludes to the tract on Guthlac's miracles which has since been printed in the Acta Sanctorum, and which is of a much more modern date. Bale also ascribes to him a History of the abbots of Croyland, but with very little degree of probability, as there could not have been many abbots since the days of Guthlac to give any importance to such a work; and he says that he wrote verse as well as prose, and on this ground Leyser

* Felix catholicæ congregationis sancti Beda vernaculus.

† In that from which the life was printed in the Acta Sanctorum, and in the fine MS. in the Cottonian Library, Nero E. 1. the passage stands thus, Felix catholicæ congregationis vernaculus.

has admitted his name among the medieval writers of Latin Poetry.*

The description of Croyland, as it appeared at the end of the seventh century, which forms the fourteenth chapter, will afford a good specimen of the style of Felix, and will not be uninteresting to the general reader. We will add the corresponding passage of the Anglo-Saxon translation of this work, made in the tenth century, and attributed to Alfric.†

Est in mediterraneorum Anglorum Britanniæ partibus immensæ magnitudinis acerrima palus, quæ a Grontæ fluminis ripis incipiens, haud procul a castello quod dicunt nomine Gronte, nunc stagnis, nunc flactiris interdum nigris fusis vaporibus et laticibus, necnon crebris insularum nemoribus intervenientibus, et flexuosis rivigarum ab austro in aquilonem maritenus longissimo tracta protenditur. Igitur cum supradictus vir beatæ memoriæ Guthlacus illius vastissimæ eremi inculta loca comperisset, cœlestibus adjutus auxiliis rectissimo callis tramite perrexit. Contigit ergo proximantibus accolis illius solitudinis experientiam sciscitaretur, illisque plurima spatiosæ eremi inculta narrantibus, ecce quidam de illic adstantibus nomine Tatwinus se scisse aliquam insulam in abditis remotioris eremi partibus adserebat, quam multi inhabitare tentantes propter incognita eremi monstra et diversarum formarum terrores amiserant. Quo audito vir beatæ recordationis Guthlacus illum locum sibi monstrari a narrante efflagitat. Ipse autem imperiis viri Dei annuens, arrepta piscatoria scapula per invia lustra in tetræ paludis margines Christo viatore ad prædictam insulam, quæ lingua Anglorum Cruland vocatur, pervenit, quæ ante propter remotioris eremi solitudinem inculta et ignota manebat. Nullus hanc ante famulum Christi Guthlacum solus habitare colonus valebat, propter videlicet illic demorantium dæmonum phantasias: in qua vir Dei Guthlacus contemto hoste, cælesti auxilio adjutus, inter umbrosa solitudinis nemora solus habitare cœpit.

Anglo-Saxon version:—

Ys on Bretone lande sum fenn unmætre mycelnysse, ꝥ on-ginneð fram Grante éa naht feor fram þære cestre ðy ylcan nama ys nemned Granteceaster. þær synd unmætre moras, hwilon sweart wæter steal ⁊ hwilon fúle éa riþas yrnende, ⁊ swylce eac manige ea-land ⁊ hreod ⁊ beorhgas ⁊ treow ge-wrido, ⁊ hit mid menig-fealdan bignyssum widgille ⁊ lang þeneð wunað on norð sæ′. Mid þan se fore-sprecena wer ⁊ þære eadigan ge-mynde Guð-

* Leyser, Hist. Poet. et Poem. Med. Æv. p. 204.

† The copy of this translation which is here quoted, is contained in the Cottonian MS. Vespas. D.XXI.; the passage here printed occurs at fol. 21, v°.

laces þær wídgillan westenes þa ungearawan stowe þær ge-mette þa wes he mid godcundre fultume ge-fylst and þa sona þan rihtestan wege þyder to ge-ferde. Þa wæs mid þam þe he þyder com ꝥ he frægn þa bigendean þæs landes, hwær he on þam westene him eardung stowe findan mihte mid þy hi him menig-feald þing sædon be þære wídgilnysse þæs westenes. Þa wæs Tátwine ge-haten sum man sæ'de þa ꝥ he wiste sum ea-land synderlice digle ꝥ oft menige men eardian ongunnon, ac for menig-fealdum brogum ⁊ egsum, ⁊ for annysse þæs widgillan westenes ꝥ hit nænig man adreogan ne mihte. Ac hit ælcforþan be fluge, mid þam þe se halga wer Guðlac þa word ge-hyrde, he bæd sona ꝥ he him þa stowe ge-tæhte, ⁊ he þa sona swá dyde. Eode þa on scip ⁊ þa ferdon begen þurh þa rugan fennas oþ ꝥ hi comon to þære stowe þe man hateð Cruwland. Wæs ꝥ land on middan þam westene swá ge-rád ge-seted þæs fore-sædan fennas swyðe digle, ⁊ hit swyþe feawe men wiston buton þam anum þe hyt him tæhte, swylc þær næ'fre menig man æ'r eardian ne mihte ær se eadiga wer Guthlac to-com for þæra eardunga þara awerige-dra gasta. ⁊ he þa se eadiga wer Guþlac for-hogode sona þa costunge þæra awerigedra gasta, ⁊ mid heofonlicum fultume ge-strangod wearð, be-twyx þa fenlican ge-wrido þæs widgillan westenes, ꝥ he ana ongan eardian.

Editions.

Capgrave, Nova Legenda Angliæ. fol. Lond. Wynkyn de Worde, 1516. foll. clxix—clxxiii. An abridged edition of the life, in which the words of the original are constantly preserved.

Surius, De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis, fol. 1570, tom. ii. — Fol. Col. Agrip. 1618, tom. ii. pp. 142—145, the same abridged edition; which, in the MS. from which Surius printed it, was stated to be " abbreviata sed vera."

Mabillon. Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti, Sæc. III. part I. Par. 1672, pp. 263—284. Life of St. Guthlac, printed from a MS. of the Monastery of Lira in Normandy.

Acta Sanctorum Aprilis, tom. ii. fol. Antwerp. 1675. pp. 38—50. The life of Guthlac from a very early MS. (pervetusto MS.) at St. Bertin, compared with the text in Mabillon.

The History and Antiquities of Croyland-Abbey, in the County of Lincoln. (By R. Gough, esq. Dir. S.A.) 4to. London, 1783. pp. 131—153. The Life of St. Guthlac, from MS. Harl. 3097.

WILBRORD.

Wilbrord (whose name was Latinized into Willebrordus and Willibrordus)* is properly classed among the men who lived before Bede, although his death occurred subsequently to that of the historian. He was, like Bede, a native of the kingdom of Northumbria, and his birth may be placed with sufficient certainty in the year 657.† His father's name was Widgils, and both his parents were pious Christians. The future celebrity and sanctity of their child was believed to be prefigured to its mother in a dream the night in which he was conceived; and Widgils, whose piety was increased by this circumstance, soon afterwards retired to a small cell on the point of the promontory which formed the northern shore of the mouth of the Humber, and became celebrated for the holiness of his life. The child at a very early age‡ was entrusted to the inmates of the monastic house at Ripon, which had been recently (in 661) restored by Wilfred, and he re-

* In the Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis, the name is spelt *Gvillebrode;* in Ordericus Vitalis, of which the text is formed from French manuscripts, *Guillebrordus.*

The most authentic, though incomplete, account of Willebrord, is that given by Bede. Alcuin wrote the life of Wilbrord in prose and verse, in 796, which may be considered as in general authentic, although a few legends had already been added to the truth, and Alcuin has fallen into some errors which may be corrected by means of Bede. Theofrid, abbot of Epternach, wrote a life of Wilbrord towards the end of the eleventh century. The life in Capgrave is chiefly abridged from Alcuin. We have also some information, but of very doubtful authenticity, relating to the mission of Wilbrord in the Life of Suidbert which goes under the name of Marcellinus.

† As there appears to be no room for doubting that Wilbrord's visit to Friesland took place in 690, and he is stated to have been then thirty-three years of age, we easily ascertain the date of his birth.

‡ Statim ablactatum infantulum tradidit pater Hripensis ecclesiæ fratribus religiosis studiis et sacris litteris erudiendum. Alcuin, c. 3.

mained there till he received the tonsure and became a monk. In his twentieth year (A.D. 677), Wilbrord was induced by the reports of the high state of learning in the Anglo-Irish monasteries,* and by the great fame of the Anglo-Saxon monks who were resident there, to quit Ripon and repair to the sister island, where he entered the congregation of Egbert and Wigbert.†

Wilbrord remained with Egbert thirteen years. We have already mentioned that monk's intended visit to Germany, and the unsuccessful mission of Wigbert to Friesland. It is probable that Wilbrord was one of the company appointed to attend Egbert on his voyage; and after that design had been relinquished, and Wigbert was returned, Egbert sent, or at least encouraged, Wilbrord to make another attempt to convert Radbod, the king or ruler of the Frieslanders.‡ Wilbrord took with him eleven companions, all moved with the same zeal as himself, and entered the Rhine in 690,§ when he had completed the thirty-third year of his age.||

The Anglo-Saxon missionaries reached Friesland at a favourable moment. The battle of Testri, three years before, had made Pepin of Heristal virtually the ruler of the united kingdoms of the Franks. The internal dissensions which preceded that event, had encouraged the Frieslanders to arm against the Merovingian monarchs; and Wilbrord found on his arrival, that they had been crushed

* Et quia in Hibernia scholasticam eruditionem viguisse audivit. Alcuin, c. 4.

† The early part of Wilbrord's history depends entirely on the authority of Alcuin, capp. 1—4.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 10.

§ This date is given in a coeval entry in the margin of a Calendar preserved at Epternach. See Stevenson's note on Bede, p. 353, and Calmet's Hist. de Lorraine, iii. 99, there referred to.

|| Alcuin, cap. 5.

by the forces of Pepin, and that the southern parts of the country, which acknowledged the rule of Radbod, had been added to the Frankish dominions.* Wilbrord and his companions proceeded up the Rhine to the ancient but ruined town of Traject (ad castellum Trajectum), now Utrecht, which was known to the Teutonic tribes by the name of Wiltaburg, as having been occupied by the Sclavonic tribe of the Wiltas; † but finding Radbod and his subjects still obstinate in their idolatry, they turned to the south, and presented themselves at the court of Pepin.‡

It was the policy of Pepin, and of the dynasty which sprang from him, to give unity to the extensive and increasing empire of the Franks, by labouring diligently to convert the tribes on its border to the Christian faith. Pepin received the Anglo-Saxon missionaries with respect; and, charmed with the zeal and piety of Wilbrord, he sent him with authority to preach among the pagans who had lately been reduced by his arms.§

About this time Wilbrord appears to have separated from his companions, of whose further movements we know little; but we are told that some of them suffered martyrdom in their attempts to convert the barbarians from their idolatry, and that others lived to be appointed bishops over them when converted.|| Some of the missionaries crossed the Rhine and penetrated amongst the Frieslanders who were still independent of the Franks. Suidbert, who

* Et quia nuper citeriorem Fresiam, expulso inde Rathbedo rege, ceperat. Bede, H. E. v. 10.

† Bede, H. E. v. 11. Note on Alcuin, cap. 13, in the Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 10. Alcuin, cap. 6.

§ Bede, H. E. v. 10.

|| Alcuin, cap. 5.

was elected to be their leader, returned to England to be ordained their bishop by Wilfred, then in Mercia banished from his own see (A.D. 693). When Suidbert had rejoined his companions, they went to preach the gospel among the Boructuari or Bructarii, the people of Eastern Friesland, and they exercised their ministry with some success, until that tribe was attacked and subdued by the Old Saxons, and their spiritual flock being destroyed or dispersed, they also fled to the court of Pepin, who gave to Suidbert a monastery on an island in the Rhine.* The simultaneous attempt to convert the Old Saxons also failed. Two Anglo-Saxons, both bearing the same name, but distinguished, on account of the colour of their hair, by the appellations of Black Hewald and White Hewald, had been long resident among the Saxon monks in Ireland, perhaps in the same congregation with Wilbrord, and, incited by his example, they also went to the shores of the Rhine and arrived among the Old Saxons, who at that time had just made themselves masters of the country of the Boructuari. The Old Saxons possessed a form of government similar to that of the Germans in the age of Tacitus; they had no king, but each district or tribe was ruled by an independent chief who acknowledged no superior except the temporary commander elected in time of war. These chiefs are termed in the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede, "ealdermen." The two Hewalds presented themselves before the reeve or prefect (villicus) of the first town to which they came, and asked to be conducted to the ealdérman of the district, as, they said, they had a mission of importance to deliver him. The reeve acceded to their request, but retained them with him for some days, until an opportunity should occur of accomplishing

* Bede, H. E. v. 11

their wish. In the mean time the people of the town observed that the two missionaries were constantly employed in prayers and in singing psalms, and they thus learnt that they were Christians; urged on probably by their priests, they rose tumultuously, and, alleging that if the strangers were allowed to visit their ealderman, they would perhaps persuade him to embrace the religion of the Christians and desert the gods of their fathers, they seized upon the two Hewalds, put them immediately to death, and threw their bodies into the Rhine. This event occurred on the third day of October, 695. When the ealderman heard what had happened, in the first outbreak of anger that a mission which was addressed to himself should have been thus stopped by his subjects, he caused all the inhabitants of the town to be put to the sword, and the town itself to be burnt to the ground. The remains of the two Anglo-Saxon martyrs were taken out of the river, and, by the express command of Pepin, deposited with great reverence in the church of Cologne. In the time of Bede, a clear spring of water was pointed out as indicating the spot where they had suffered.*

When Wilbrord had been armed for his mission with the authority given to him by Pepin, he determined still further to strengthen his influence by obtaining the authority also of the pope, and he repaired to Rome in 692. On his return, he brought with him relics and other necessaries for the churches which were to be built among the converts. The number of the latter was continually increased by the persuasions of the preacher and the influence of his patron, who showered his benefits on those

* Bede, H. E. v. 10. The spring was said to have bubbled forth miraculously on the spot where they were slain. Fertur autem quia in loco, in quo occisi sunt, fons ebullierit, qui in eodem loco usque hodie copiosa fluenti sui dona profundat.

who listened to the missionaries, and punished with rigour any of his new subjects who treated them with insult or contempt. At the end of three years, Pepin again sent Wilbrord to Rome; and pope Sergius I. ordained him bishop of the people whom he had converted, in the church of St. Cecilia according to Bede, on the twenty-second of November, 696, on which occasion the Pope gave him the pallium with his own hand, and bestowed upon him the name of Clemens. He remained at Rome only fourteen days, and then, returning to Friesland, established his episcopal see at Utrecht, the spot where he had first come to land on his arrival from England six years before. He there built a church which was dedicated to St. Saviour, and rebuilt one dedicated to St. Martin.*

After Wilbrord had held the episcopal see of Utrecht a few years, during which time he laboured with unceasing activity, destroying the idols which continued to be worshipped by the barbarians subject to the Frankish monarchy, he determined to make another attempt to convert the independent tribes bordering upon his diocese. He went first to the court of Radbod, who received him with unexpected favour. There he is said to have met Wulframn bishop of Sens, who, with the permission of Childebert and Pepin, had entered Friesland with the same object as Wilbrord in the year 700.† But Radbod, although he treated the two missionaries with hospitality,

* Bede, H. E. v. 10 and 11. Alcuin, cap. 6. Bonifacii Epist. 105. Alcuin confounds the two visits to Rome, but they are distinctly described in Bede. The author of the book De Vitis Pontificum, ascribed to Athanasius (quoted in a note on Alcuin by Mabillon), confirms Bede in stating that the consecration of Wilbrord to the pontificate took place on St. Cecilia's day.

† This is asserted in some of the MSS. of Alcuin, c. 9, and in the abridged life in Capgrave. Wulframn remained in Friesland from 700 to 705. Jonas, Vit. Wulfranni, ap. Mabil. Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened. Sæc. III. pars 1, p. 363.

paid very little attention to their religious exhortations; and Wilbrord, seeing no hopes of success, separated from his colleague, and proceeding towards the north reached the country of the still more barbarous Danes, who were then ruled by a prince named Ongend, remarkable chiefly for the ferocity of his character.* Ongend received the bishop, as an envoy of Pepin, with respect, but he also despised the doctrines which Wilbrord preached to him. The exertions of the missionary were not, however entirely without effect; he appears to have made some converts, and on his return home he carried with him thirty Danish children to be instructed in the Christian faith. Fearful that his good intentions might be frustrated by the accidents incident to travelling or by the inhospitable manners of the people through whose bounds he would have to pass, he initiated and baptized these children on the road, soon after he had begun his journey.†

The travellers appear to have performed part of their journey by sea. They first came to land at an island on the confines of Denmark and Friesland, which was then called Fositesland, because it was sacred to one of the Frisian idols named Fosite.‡ It is supposed to be the same which has since been known by the name of Helgoland, or Holy Island, and which was in the age of

* Alcuin, c. 9. The name is spelt differently Ungendus, Ongendus, Angaudeonem (? Angandeovem). See Mabillon's note. Perhaps it is the same name as the Ongentheow of the Romance of Beowulf, and the Angeltheow (*al.* Angengeat), Engeltheov, &c. of the Anglo-Saxon mythic genealogies. In all these instances, the name in its simple form was probably Angen, Ongen, or Ongend. It appears that the common tables of the early Danish kings contain no such name as Ongend, or Angandeov.

† Sed in eo ipso itinere catechizatos eosdem pueros fonte salubri abluit, ne aliquid propter pericula longioris viæ, vel ex insidiis ferocissimorum illius terræ habitatorum damnum pateretur in illis. Alcuin, ib.

‡ Alcuin, c. 10. Concerning Fosite, see Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 54, 78, 144,

Tacitus famous among the German tribes as the chief seat of the worship of Hertha. The reverence shown to this spot by the Frieslanders was so great, that they considered it a sacrilege of the worst kind, either to kill and eat the animals which fed there, or even to drink, except in silence, of the water which flowed from its fountain.* Wilbrord and his companions had been driven thither by stress of weather, and they were all suffering from hunger. They were well acquainted with the character of the place at which they had arrived, yet the bishop without scruple ordered food to be sought for his companions, while he baptized three new converts in the stream. A party of Frieslanders, who had been watching their motions (perhaps they exercised the calling of wreckers on the coast), witnessed the slaughter of the holy animals and the desecration of the fountain, with horror and astonishment, and expected to see the perpetrators visited with sudden death or struck with madness; but when these results were not realised, they hastened to the king and told him what they had seen. Radbod, in anger, ordered the Christians to be brought before him. During three days he cast lots thrice a day (the mode of judicial proceeding practised among his people); but the strangers were saved from his vengeance, for the lot of condemnation (sors damnatorum) did not fall upon Wilbrord or his companions, with the exception of one, who was instantly sacrificed. The barbarian king was awed by this prodigy; he called Wilbrord into his presence, and reproached him bitterly with the disrespect which he had shown to his god Fosite.

* Qui locus a paganis in tanta veneratione habebatur, ut nil in ea vel animalium ibi pascentium vel aliarum quarumlibet rerum gentilium quisquam tangere audebat, nec etiam a fonte qui ibi ebulliebat aquam haurire nisi tacens præsumebat. Alcuin, c. 10.

Wilbrord answered that the god he worshipped was a deceiver, and exhorted him to turn from his idolatry. Radbod then observed with an air of surprise, "I see that you do not fear our threats, and that your words are like your works;" and so dismissed him with honour, and sent him to the court of the ruler of the Franks.*

It was probably after his return from this mission, that Wilbrord founded the monastery of Epternach near Treves.† For some years he continued to occupy the episcopal see at Utrecht, frequently travelling over the different parts of his diocese, converting those who remained in error, confirming those who had already been converted, and destroying the temples of the idols to raise churches in their place. He also ordained bishops to assist him, and to act subordinately under him. He continued to enjoy the favour of Pepin, who is supposed by some writers (though apparently without authority) to have been induced by his persuasions to put away his concubine Alpaïde, and reconcile himself to his more legitimate wife Plectrude. In 714, Pepin of Heristal died; and Radbod, encouraged by the troubles which immediately followed that event, rose in arms and seized upon the districts which had formerly been wrested from him. Wilbrord was thus driven from the scene of his labours; and the idolatrous rites of the Frieslanders were re-estab-

* Ad hæc rex miratus respondit, Video te minas nostras non timuisse, et verba tua esse sicut et opera. Et quamvis noluisset veritatis prædicatori credere, tamen ad Pippinum regem Francorum cum honore remisit eum. Alcuin, c. 11. Alcuin on more than one occasion calls Pepin "rex Francorum," although he more frequently gives him the title of "dux."

† The Biographie Universelle, art. Willibrod, erroneously places the foundation of the monastery of Epternach in 698. The site was given to him in the twelfth year of Childebert (707), by Pepin and Plectrude, and therefore after Pepin's reconciliation with his wife. (Theoffrid. Vit. Wil.)

lished in his diocese.* This occurred about the year 715 or 716.

The intrigues of a few months, supported by his military talents, placed in the hands of Charles Martel the power which had been wielded by his father, and gave him leisure to repress the encroachments of the Frieslanders. In the month of March, 716, Radbod advanced as far as Cologne, laying waste the country over which he passed. In a battle in the neighbourhood of that city he gained an advantage over Charles; but towards the end of the year he was obliged to retreat, and the increasing fortunes of his adversary reduced him to a more humiliating position than that which he had held even under the reign of Pepin. Wilbrord was restored by Charles to the bishopric of Utrecht, but he had in a great measure to recommence the work of conversion. Other missionaries were sent to assist him, and to make a new attempt to introduce the Christian religion among the still independent tribes of the north. Wulframn again visited the court of Radbod, and his persuasions brought the Frisian prince to the sacred font. He had already put one foot in the water, when he suddenly hesitated, and turning to his instructor, asked him whether there were a greater number of Frieslanders in heaven or in hell. The missionary told him that all the kings and nobles of Friesland who had preceded him, and who had not been purified by baptism, were in the latter place. Radbod withdrew his foot from the font, and declared that he would rather go to his ancestors with whom were the greater number of his countrymen, than take his place with the smaller

* Alcuin, cc. 12, 13.—Jam pars ecclesiarum Christi, quæ Francorum prius subjecta erat imperio, vastata erat ac destructa, idolorum quoque cultura extructis delubrorum fanis lugubriter renovata. Vita Bonifacii, ap. Pertz, ii. 339.

number, with only the chance of its being increased by those who might come after him.* This happened in the year 718, and in the year following Radbod died, unbaptized, as the old chroniclers carefully note.† The abridged life of Wilbrord, printed in Capgrave, has preserved a wild legend relating to his death.‡

Wilbrord employed himself with activity in restoring Christianity along the banks of the Rhine, and his zeal ensured his success. After he had settled the affairs of his own diocese, he returned to preach the gospel among the unconverted tribes. He now made many converts; but, although protected by the power of Charles Martel, his mission was not without its perils. As he was making a progress along the coast occupied by the Frieslanders, he arrived at an island then called Walacrum, the modern Walcheren, which was the seat of the worship of a famous and ancient idol, whose rites were celebrated on a particular day of the year with great ceremony. While Wilbrord was destroying the idol, its keeper suddenly rushed upon him, and struck him on the head with a sword. The stroke of the pagan's weapon was, however, harmless; and Wilbrord's companions seized the assailant and would have put him to death, had they not been restrained by the preacher, who ordered him to be set at liberty.§

We have no means of ascertaining the date of Wilbrord's return from this mission, but he was then beginning to bend under the weight of years, and spent more of his time than formerly in the monastery of Epternach. He

* Annales Xantenses, ap. Pertz, Monum. Hist. Germ. ii. 221.

† Annales Xantenses, ib. Other authorities for this date are printed in Pertz.

‡ Capgrave, Legenda Nova Angliæ, fol. cccix.

§ Alcuin, Vita Willibr., c. 14.—Capp. 15—22 of Alcuin's life are occupied with Wilbrord's pretended miracles. His posthumous miracles are detailed in cc. 25—30.

continued to enjoy the favour of Charles Martel, and lived to see his triumphs over the Saracen invaders. It was Wilbrord who baptized that prince's son Pepin (afterwards known by the title of Pepin le Bref); and his benediction over the infant was prophetic of the future glories of the father of Charlemagne.* Bede, in 731, speaks of Wilbrord as being "longa jam venerabilis ætate;" † and Boniface, who also was partly his contemporary, assures us that he continued preaching till his strength failed him, when he ordained a coadjutor to administer the affairs of his diocese.‡ He then retired to Epternach, where he died and was buried, having completed his eighty-first year.§ This, combined with the other dates and events of his life, leads us to fix the year 738 as that of his death.‖ It occurred, according to Alcuin, on the sixth of November, although in the Romish calender Wilbrord is commemorated on the seventh of that month. His relics are still preserved in the monastery of Epternach; and in the

* Alcuin, c. 23.

† Bede, H. E. v. 11. who says that he had then held his bishopric thirty-six years—utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum. This agrees with Bede's previous statement of the date of his ordination.

‡ Prædicans usque ad debilem senectutem permansit, et sibi coëpiscopum ad ministerium implendum substituit. Bonifac. Epist. 105.

§ This is stated in Alcuin's metrical life:—

Qui postquam vitæ meritis perfectus in annis
Bis octena pius complevit lustra sacerdos
Ter quater et menses, mensis jam jamque Novembris
Idibus octenis cœli migravit ad aulam.

‖ The date can only be fixed by conjecture, and has been given very differently by different authors. Yet if Wilbrord's thirty-third year fell in 690, his eighty-first must have been completed in 738. The Annales Xantenses, in Pertz, ii. 221. place Wilbrord's death in 736; but the same Annals place his ordination in 694, also two years too early; and they place the death of Bede in 730, a year before he completed his Ecclesiastical History. Boniface, in the letter quoted above, says that Wilbrord continued to preach to the Frieslanders during fifty years; but this was probably not intended to be an accurate definition of time. The period from 690 to 738 might very well be called, in speaking loosely, half a century.

abbey of Nôtre Dame des Martyrs at Treves they show the portable altar which he is said to have carried about with him in his pious wanderings.*

Wilbrord holds a prominent place in the early history of the English and German churches, as the first of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who laboured with success in the great work which was completed before the end of the century by his countrymen Boniface, Willibald, and Willehad. His biographer Alcuin speaks in terms of admiration of the dignity of mien, the prudence and moderation, the holiness and meekness of heart, and persuasive eloquence, the activity, perseverance, and patience, which enabled him to overcome the difficulties he encountered.† Though the older bibliographers attribute to Wilbrord several books,‡ we have at present no remains to show his learning or literary talents; but he was the founder of the schools at Utrecht, and he thus contributed in no small degree to the advancement of European civilization.

* Biog. Universelle, art. Willibrod.

† Alcuin's prose life, c. 24. In the metrical life (p. 625), the same writer describes him thus:—

> Vir fuit iste Dei, patiens, moderatus, honestus,
> Moribus egregius, et in omni strenuus actu;
> Corde pius, humili mitis, rigidusque superbo,
> Solator miseris et, inops sibi, dives egenis.

‡ Scripsit Willebrordus, Ecclesiasticos Canones; De sua Peregrinatione; Homilias; Epistolas. Tanner, from Bale, &c.

Section III.—From Bede to the end of the Eighth Century.

BEDE.

No name is more illustrious in the history of literature and science during the middle ages, than that of the "venerable" Bede; and we may add that in proportion to his celebrity there are not many writers of whose personal history we possess so few details. His studious and contemplative life probably offered few remarkable incidents to arrest the pen of the biographer or historian; and to his contemporaries, as well as to after ages (with the exception perhaps of the monastic congregation in which he resided), he lived chiefly by his works.*

* The only accurate information relating to Bede's life (with the exception of Cuthbert's account of his last moments) is given by Bede himself, at the end of his Ecclesiastical History. All the other biographies, which are of little or no importance, are founded upon what he there states. Smith has inserted in his edition of Bede's historical works, an anonymous life written apparently in the eleventh century. Mabillon has given another life, written after the beginning of the twelfth century, and other anonymous lives are inserted in the Acta Sanctorum and in Capgrave. Notices more or less detailed are found in Simeon of Durham, William of Malmsbury, and other historians. Baronius and Mabillon have collected together most of the materials relating to the life of this great Anglo-Saxon writer. More recently, memoirs have been published by Mr. Stevenson, in his edition of the Ecclesiastical History, and by Henry Gehle, in a separate work entitled Disputatio Historico-Theologica de Bedæ Venerabilis, Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis, Vita et Scriptis. 8vo. Lug. Bat. 1838.

The name in Anglo-Saxon was *Beda*; as in all words of this form, and names that have continued through many ages to be in people's mouths, the Anglo-Saxon termination *a* became softened into the later English dumb *e*. The form *Bede* has been continued, because it is not incorrect, and because it is the most popular.

Bede was born in 672 or 673,* near the place where Benedict Biscop soon afterwards founded the religious house of Wearmouth, perhaps in the parish which is now called Monkton, and which appears to have been one of the earliest endowments of the monastery.† As soon as he had reached his seventh year, Bede was sent to Wearmouth to profit by the teaching of Biscop, from which period to his death he continued to be an inmate of that monastery. After the death of Benedict Biscop, Bede pursued his studies under his successor Ceolfrid, and at the age of nineteen, about A.D. 692, was admitted to deacon's orders by John of Beverley, then newly restored to his see of Hexham; and in his thirtieth year (702 or 703) he was ordained to the priesthood by the same prelate.‡ The early age at which Bede received holy orders, shows that he was then already distinguishing himself by his learning and piety; and there can be little doubt that his fame was widely spread before the commencement of the eighth century.

At that period, according to the account which has been generally received, Bede was invited to Rome by pope Sergius I., to advise with that pontiff on some difficult points of church discipline. The authority for this circumstance is a letter of the pope to Ceolfrid, expressing his wish to see Bede at Rome, which has been inserted

* The Ecclesiastical History was finished in 731, and at the end of it Bede states himself to be at that time fifty-nine years of age. Stevenson, following Pagi, places his birth in 674.

† Natus in territorio ejusdem monasterii. Bede, H. E. v. 24. The Anglo-Saxon version has, Wæs ic accenned on sundorlande þæs ylcan mynstres.—I was born on the land set apart for the same monastery. Some writers, and among the rest Dr. Lingard, have so far misunderstood this expression as to state that Bede was born at Sunderland. (Gehle, p. 8, note.) It may here be observed that we think it not necessary to notice the mere fables connected with Bede's life, such as his studying at Cambridge, &c.

‡ Bede, H. E. v. 24.

by William of Malmsbury in his history of England. It seems, however, nearly certain that Bede did not go to Rome on this occasion; and reasons have been stated for supposing the whole story, as far as Bede was concerned in it, to be a misrepresentation. The recent editor of the Ecclesiastical History has printed an earlier copy of the pope's letter from a MS. in the British Museum,* in which the name of Bede does not occur; and it is argued that this is the true form of the letter, that it is expressed in merely general terms, requesting Ceolfrid to send *some monk of his house* capable of giving advice on the subject to be discussed, and that the name of Bede was interpolated by William of Malmsbury, when he introduced this letter into his history.† These arguments, however, do not appear conclusive; and it seems more probable that the pope would send to so great a distance for a person who was extensively known for his learning and acquaintance with ecclesiastical affairs, than that he should apply to the abbot of a monastery like Wearmouth to send him one of his monks to advise with him. We are moreover hardly justified in supposing that William of Malmsbury had not an original copy which contained the name of Bede; and it appears to us from the form of the expression that a name or a word is required after the word *famulum* in the Cottonian manuscript.‡ If William of Malmsbury's version of the letter be correct, and Bede

* Stevenson, p. xi, with the reference to MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. xv. fol. 6.b.

† In William of Malmsbury the sentence stands thus, Sed absque aliqua remoratione religiosum Dei nostri famulum Bedam venerabilis tui monasterii presbyterum ad veneranda limina apostolorum . . . . non moraris dirigere. In the Cottonian MS., as printed by Stevenson, it stands as follows, Sed absque aliqua remoratione religiosum Dei nostri famulum venerabilis tui monasterii ad veneranda limina, &c.

‡ On referring to the original MS., it appears that the MS. stands thus, "Dei nostri famulum N. venerabilis," &c. where N. an abbreviation of *nomen*, was placed to show that a name of some person stood in the original

was invited by name, we may suppose that the death of the pope in the same year in which the letter was sent, released him from the labours of the journey.

The remainder of Bede's life appears to have passed away in the tranquillity of study and in pious exercises. He never separated himself from the monastery in which he had been educated,* but composed within its walls the numerous books which have thrown so much lustre on his name. The larger portion of these works was probably written during the fifteen years preceding 731. His smaller treatise De Temporibus is supposed to have been composed about 701 or 702, and the book De Natura Rerum perhaps about the same time. Bede had finished the three books of his Commentary on Samuel just before the death of Ceolfrid, i.e. in 716. The treatise De Temporum Ratione was composed in 726; the lives of the first abbots of Wearmouth and Yarrow were published about 716, or soon after; and in 731, was completed his most important work, the Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Saxons. Bede had then reached the age of fifty-nine. The monotony of a monastic life seems to have been relieved from time to time by visits to other religious houses. In 733 or 734 he had spent some days in the monastery of York in company with his friend, archbishop Egbert; but he declined another invitation from the same prelate, towards the close of the year 734, on the plea of ill health, in a letter still preserved, which is an exhortation to Egbert on the duties of the episcopal office, full of sound

document, or that it was to be supplied. A nearly contemporary hand has interlined in small letters the word *beda* over the letter N, and the word *presbyterum* to be inserted *after monasterii.* Usher also examined a very ancient manuscript of this letter, written in Anglo-Saxon characters, in the Cottonian library, and he points out the omission of the word *presbyterum,* but says nothing of the absence of the name of Bede. See Wilkins, Concil. Magn. Brit. i. 63.

* Bede, H. E. v. 24.

advice, and interesting for the light it throws on the state of the Anglo-Saxon church and on the corruptions which were then creeping into it. Bede was at this time labouring under an asthmatic complaint, which shortly afterwards carried him from the scene of his mortal labours.

A narrative of Bede's last hours was written by his disciple Cuthbert, and is still preserved. From this account it appears that the last works on which he employed his pen were a translation of the Gospel of St. John into Anglo-Saxon, and a collection of extracts from one of the works of Isidore. At the commencement of the month of April, 735, he was seized with a shortness of breathing, under which he languished till the twenty-sixth of May, suffering little pain, but pining away under the effects of his disease and the absence of sleep. During this time he occupied himself day and night either in admonishing his disciples, or in prayer, or in repeating passages from the Scriptures and the fathers of the church, interspersing his observations from time to time with pieces of religious poetry in his native tongue. One of these fragments has been given in the present volume.* On the twenty-sixth of May the symptoms became more alarming, and it was evident that death was near at hand. During that day he continued to dictate (probably the translation of the gospel of St. John) to one of the younger members of the community, who acted as his scribe; and he resumed the same work early the next morning, which was the Feast of the Ascension, or Holy Thursday, and he told his disciples to write diligently. This they did till nine o'clock, when they retired to perform some of the religious duties peculiar to that day. One of them then said to him, " Dearest master, one chapter still remains,

* See the Introduction to the present volume, p. 21.

and thou canst ill bear questioning." But Bede desired him to proceed, telling him to "take his pen and write hastily." At the hour of nones (twelve o'clock), Bede directed Cuthbert to fetch from his closet his spices and other precious articles, which he shared among the presbyters of the house, and begged that they would say masses and prayers for him after his death. He passed the remainder of the day in prayer and conversation, amid the tears of his companions, till evening, when his scribe again interrupted him, telling him that only one sentence of his work remained unfinished. Bede told him to write, and he dictated a few words, when the youth exclaimed, "It is now done!" "Thou hast said right," answered Bede, "it *is* done! Support my head with thy hands, for I desire to sit in my holy place where I am accustomed to pray, that sitting there I may call upon my Father." And thus on the floor of his closet, chaunting the Gloria Patri, he had just strength to proceed to the end of the phrase, and died with the last words (Spiritui Sancto) on his lips.

The date of Bede's death is accurately fixed in the year 735, by the circumstance that in that year the Feast of the Ascension fell upon the twenty-seventh of May.* He was buried at Yarrow, and, according to William of Malmsbury,† the following epitaph was placed on his tomb:

Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus.
Dona, Christe, animam in cœlis gaudere per ævum;
Daque illi sophiæ debriari fonte, cuï jam
Suspiravit ovans intento semper amore.

The bones of Bede were carefully preserved at Yarrow till towards the middle of the eleventh century, when a presbyter of Durham, Alfred the son of Weston, envious

* Gehle, Disputat. Hist. Theol. de Bed. Venerab. Scriptis, p. 31.
† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Ang. p. 24.

of the profit which was derived from the number of devotees who came thither to visit them, carried them off by stealth, and deposited them in his own church.* When the relics of St. Cuthbert were removed in 1104, the bones of Bede were found in the same coffin; and they were taken thence and placed a few years afterwards by bishop Hugh Pudsey in a casket of gold and silver in the Galilee of the Cathedral, where they remained till the year 1541, when they were removed with other relics by the Reformers. The stone on which the casket rested is still preserved. The following lines were inscribed on the latter by Bishop Pudsey's order:

> Continet hæc theca Bedæ Venerabilis ossa;
> Sensum factori Christus dedit, æsque datori.
> Petrus opus fecit, præsul dedit hoc Hugo donum;
> Sic in utroque suum veneratus utrumque patronum.†

The reputation of Bede increased daily, and we find him spoken of by the title of Saint very soon after his death. Boniface in his epistles describes him as the lamp of the church. Towards the ninth century he received the appellation of The Venerable, which has ever since been attached to his name. As a specimen of the fables by which his biography was gradually obscured, we may cite the legends invented to account for the origin of this latter title. According to one, the Anglo-Saxon scholar was on a visit to Rome, and there saw a gate of iron, on which were inscribed the letters P.P.P.S.S.S. R.R.R.F.F.F., which no one was able to interpret. Whilst Bede was attentively considering the inscription, a Roman who was passing by said to him rudely, "What

* Simeon of Durham, in the Decem Scriptores, col. 32, who gives a detailed account of this theft.

† Stevenson, Introd. to Bede's Eccl. Hist.; Gehle, pp. 23—34. Both these writers have given the text of Cuthbert's Epistle.

seest thou there, English ox?" to which Bede replied, "I see your confusion;" and he immediately explained the characters thus:—Pater Patriæ Perditus, Sapientia Secum Sublata, Ruet Regnum Romæ, Ferro Flamma Fame. The Romans were astonished at the acuteness of their English visitor, and decreed that the title of Venerable should be thenceforth given to him. According to another story, Bede, having become blind in his old age, was walking abroad with one of his disciples for a guide, when they arrived at an open place where there was a large heap of stones; and Bede's companion persuaded his master to preach to the people who, as he pretended, were assembled there and waiting in great silence and expectation. Bede delivered a most eloquent and moving discourse, and when he had uttered the concluding phrase, Per omnia sæcula sæculorum, to the great admiration of his disciple, the stones, we are told, cried out aloud, "Amen, Venerabilis Beda!" There is also a third legend on this subject which informs us that, soon after Bede's death, one of his disciples was appointed to compose an epitaph in Latin Leonines, and carve it on his monument, and he began thus,

Hac sunt in fossa Bedæ ossa,

intending to introduce the word *sancti* or *presbyteri;* but as neither of these words would suit the metre, whilst he was puzzling himself to find one more convenient, he fell asleep. On awaking he prepared to resume his work, when to his great astonishment he found that the line had already been completed on the stone (by an angel, as he supposed), and that it stood thus,—

Hac sunt in fossa Bedæ Venerabilis ossa.*

Bede has given us, at the conclusion of his Ecclesiastical

* Gehle, Dissertat. pp. 36, 37, gives the authorities for the foregoing legends.

History, the following list of the works which he had composed previously to that time (A.D. 731).

1. A commentary on Genesis, as far as the twenty-first chapter inclusive. Part of this work will be found in the editions of Bede's collected works; the rest was edited by Henry Wharton, in his collection of Tracts by Bede.

2. A treatise on the tabernacle and its vessels and on the vestments of the priests, in three books.

3. A commentary on the thirty-one first chapters of the first book of Samuel (usque ad mortem Saulis), in three books.

4. The treatise de ædificatione Templi (an allegorical interpretation of the temple of Solomon), in two books.

5. Detached observations on the books of Samuel and Kings. (In Regum librum xxx questiones.)*

6. A commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon, in three books.

7. A commentary on the Song of Solomon, in seven books.

8. Glosses on Isaiah, Daniel, the Twelve Prophets, and part of Jeremiah, extracted from St. Jerome.

9. On Ezra and Nehemiah, in three books.

10. On the Song of Habacuc, in one book.

11. On the book of Tobit (In Librum beati patris Tobiæ, explanationes allegoricæ de Christo et ecclesia), in one book.

12. Heads of readings (capitula lectionum) on the Pentateuch and on the books of Josuah and Judges.

13. A commentary "in libros Regum et Verba dierum."

* The passages illustrated in this book are, 1 Sam. ii. 35; iii. 19; vi. 19; vii. 2; xx. 14, 15; xxv. 29. 2 Sam. i. 18; viii. 2; xxiii. 8, 20; 1 Kings vi. 2, 8, 9; viii. 8, 9, 65; xvi. 34; xx. 10. 2 Kings, xi. 5, 12; xii. 15; xiv. 7, 25; xvii. 29, 30; xviii. 32; xx. 9; xxii. 14; xxiii. 10, 11, 13; xxiv. 14.

14. A commentary on the book of Job.

15. On the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon.

16. On Isaiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

17. A commentary on the Gospel of St. Mark, in four books.

18. A commentary on St. Luke, in six books.

19. Homilies on the Gospel, in two books.

20. A compilation from St. Augustine—In Apostolum quæcunque in opusculis sancti Augustini exposita inveni, cuncta per ordinem transcribere curavi.

21. A commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, in two books.

22. Commentaries on the seven Catholic Epistles.

23. A commentary on the Apocalypse, in two books.

24. Heads of readings on the whole of the New Testament, with the exception of the Gospels.

25. A book of Epistles addressed to various persons. These Epistles were in fact tracts addressed to his friends on the following subjects: On the six Ages of the World (de sex ætatibus sæculi); on the Mansions of the Children of Israel; on the words of Isaiah, Et claudentur ibi in carcerem, et post dies multos visitabuntur, (Is. xxiv. 22); on the Bissextile; on the Equinox, according to Anatolius. The second and third of these tracts are lost.

26. The life of St. Felix, compiled in prose from the metrical life by Paulinus.

27. A corrected edition of the Life of St. Anastasius, which had been inaccurately translated from the Greek. (Librum vitæ et passionis sancti Anastasii, male de Græco translatum, et pejus a quodam imperito emendatum, prout potui, ad sensum correxi.)

28. The life of St. Cuthbert, written first in verse, and afterwards in prose.

29. The history of the abbots of Wearmouth and Yarrow.

30. The Ecclesiastical History.

31. A Martyrology.

32. Hymns, in various metres or rhythms.

33. A book of Epigrams, in Latin verse.

34, 35. The books De Natura Rerum and De Temporibus.

36. A "larger book" de Temporibus.

37. A book de Orthographia, arranged in alphabetical order.

38. A treatise on Metres (de Metrica Arte), to which was added another, de Schematibus sive Tropis.

To the foregoing list may be added a few books, which are of undoubted authenticity, and which with one exception, were written subsequently to the completion of the Ecclesiastical History.

39. The Libellus de Situ Urbis Hierusalem, sive de Locis Sanctis, already mentioned as an abridgment from the older work of Adamnan.* We know that this tract was published before the appearance of the Ecclesiastical History, in which it is mentioned, and it is singular that it should be omitted in Bede's list.

40. In his old age, soon after the completion of the Ecclesiastical History, Bede wrote (in imitation of St. Augustine) a book of *Retractationes*, in which with characteristic candour he points out and corrects errors admitted into the writings of his earlier years.

41. The Epistle to Albinus, edited by Mabillon, and written soon after the year 731.

42. The Epistle to Archbishop Egbert, written at the end of the year 734 or in the beginning of 735. And,

43, 44. The Compilation from Isidore, and the Anglo-

* See before, p. 204 of the present volume.

Saxon version of St. John, which occupied Bede's last moments.

It will be seen by the foregoing list, that the subjects of the writings of Bede are very diversified. They are the works of a man whose life was spent in close and constant study, — industrious compilations rather than original compositions, but exhibiting profound and extensive learning beyond that of any of his contemporaries. He was not unacquainted with the classic authors of ancient Rome;* and his commentaries on the Scriptures show that he understood the Greek and Hebrew languages. It appears from his book entitled Retractationes, that he had met with a very early Greek manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, which he collated with the Latin text then in use; from the variations † which Bede has given in the work just mentioned, Mill was led to conclude that this was either the identical manuscript now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or at least an exact counterpart of it. Bede's opinions are not free from the errors, which characterized the age in which he lived; but there are few of his contemporaries whose works exhibit so large a proportion of good sense, and he was so far devoid of common prejudices that he did not scruple to adopt the useful parts of the writings of those whom the church then looked upon as heretics. Thus, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, he professes to follow the rules of interpretation published by Tychonius the Donatist, whom he praises as a learned and judicious writer in all cases where he was not necessarily led to defend the doctrines of his sect.‡ This liberality of sen-

* See the Introduction to the present volume, pp. 39, 40.

† In quo etiam quædam quæ in Græco sive aliter seu plus aut minus posita vidimus, breviter commemorare curavimus. Præfat. in Retractat.

‡ Prolog. in Apocalyps. tom. v, p. 763.

timent exposed him to be blamed by some of his envious contemporaries; and he was especially reprehended for giving a new interpretation to the Apocalypse. Bede's style (as well in verse as in prose) is clear, but plain, and devoid of the rhetorical ornaments which were sought by Aldhelm and others. It is sometimes pleasing by its simplicity.

The works of Bede may be divided into four classes, his theological writings, his scientific treatises, his poetry and tracts on grammatical and miscellaneous subjects, and his historical books.

1. A very large portion of Bede's writings consists of commentaries on the different books of the holy Scriptures, exhibiting great store of information and acuteness of perception, but too much characterized by the great blemish of the mediæval theology, an extravagant attachment to allegorical interpretation. In the treatises De Tabernaculo and De Ædificio Templi, he gives an allegorical meaning to the tabernacle and its vases, to the different articles of vesture of the priests, and to the temple of Solomon; the latter, both in the details of its construction and in the events connected with its history, he pretends to have been typical of the form and history of the church of Christ. In his commentary on Samuel, he says that Elkanah, who had two wives, was typical of Christ as being the redeemer and ruler equally of the synagogue and of the church; the name of Hannah, one of them, signifying in Hebrew *grace*, and denoting the church, while the other, Peninnah, which signifies *conversion*, denoted the synagogue. In this book Bede recommends the celibacy of the clergy. Bede also found an allegorical meaning running through the Proverbs of Solomon and the book of Tobit.—"The book of the holy father, Tobias," he says, is "not only healthful to

the reader in the surface of the letter, inasmuch as it abounds with the greatest examples and maxims of moral life; but he who knows how to interpret the same allegorically, will see that the inner sense excels the simplicity of the letter as much as fruit excels leaves.*" The same tendency to give typical meanings to plain narratives characterizes Bede's commentaries on the books of the New Testament, and is particularly remarkable in his book on the Acts of the Apostles, *every word* of which, if we believe his statement, contains a hidden meaning as well as a literal sense.† It may be observed that in the comment on the seven Catholic Epistles, the much disputed passage on the three witnesses in heaven, 1 John v. 7, is omitted. Of the Homilies which go under the name of Bede, the larger portion appears to consist of the compilations of other writers, and they are little more than fragments of commentaries on the New Testament.‡

2. The only scientific treatises of which we can with certainty regard Bede as the author, are those indicated in his own list of his writings. They are still preserved, and, though no better than compilations from other

* Liber Sancti patris Tobiæ et in superficie literæ salubris patet legentibus, utpote qui maximis vitæ moralis et exemplis abundat et monitis, et si quis eundem etiam allegorice novit interpretari, quantum poma foliis, tantum interiorem ejus sensum videt simplicitati literæ præstare. Bed. in Libr. Tobiæ, tom. iv, p. 347.

† Actus igitur Apostolorum (ut beatus Hieronymus ait) nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam, et nascentis ecclesiæ infantiam texere; sed si noverimus eorum scriptorem Lucam esse medicum, cujus laus est in Evangelio, animadvertimus pariter omnia verba illius animæ languentis esse medicinam. Prolog. in Act. Apost. tom. v, p. 625.

‡ Mabillon (in the Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Bened.) has described two early manuscripts of the Homilies of Bede (in the library of Colbert, now in the Bibl. du Roi at Paris) which differ very much from the printed collections, and would be of great use in determining which are the authentic homilies of the Anglo-Saxon theologian, and separating them from those which do not belong to him.

writers, and more especially from Pliny the elder, they exhibit to us all the scientific knowledge possessed by our forefathers until a much later period. The tract de Natura Rerum, which was one of Bede's earliest works, and the Anglo-Saxon abridged translation made in the tenth century, were the text-books of science in England until the twelfth century. The system of Bede was the same which had prevailed in Europe during several centuries. He considered the earth to be the centre of the universe; and he believed that the firmament was spherical, and bounded by, or inclosed in, fire (De Rer. Nat. cc. 4, 5.); beyond this was the higher heaven, peopled by angelic beings, who were supposed to be able to take etherial bodies, assimilate themselves to men, eat, drink, and perform the other functions of human nature, and at will lay aside their assumed form and return to their own dwelling place (ib. c. 7). He taught that the waters above the firmament were placed there for the purpose of moderating the heat of the fire and the igneous stars (c. 8); that the stars, with the exception of the wandering stars or planets, are fixed in the firmament and move round with it, and that sparks struck from them, and carried away by the wind, are what we call falling stars (c. 11); that there are seven planets, whose orbits are included in the firmament, and which revolve in the contrary direction to the motion of the sun (c. 12); that comets are stars produced suddenly, with crests of flame, and that they forebode political revolutions, pestilence, war, or great tempests and droughts (c. 24); that the different colours of the planets are caused by variation of distance and by the different strata of air in which they revolve (c. 15). Many of Bede's notions with regard to the planet which we inhabit were equally unscientific: he considered the earth to be a globe (De Rer. Nat. c. 46), but he did not believe in the existence of the

antipodes (De Tempor. Rat. c. 32); he says that the earth internally resembles a sponge, and that earthquakes are produced by the sudden and forcible escape of wind confined in the cavernous parts (De Rer. Nat. c. 49); that the sea is not increased by the rivers which run into it, either because it is constantly evaporating into the clouds, or because the water descends continually into the earth by secret passages (ib. c. 40); that the sea to the north of Thule is a mass of everlasting ice; that thunder is produced by the sudden bursting forth of wind confined and compressed in the clouds, like the bursting of a bladder (c. 28); and that lightning is produced by the collision of the clouds in the same manner as fire by the striking together of flints (c. 29). He believed that the world was in his time in its sixth age, old, decrepid, and worn out, and that its end was near approaching (De Temp. Rat.) In the treatise last quoted (c. 13) Bede gives an explanation of the Anglo-Saxon names of the months, which shows that he paid attention to the antiquities of the language and customs of his countrymen, and is a valuable illustration of Anglo-Saxon mythology.

3. The grammatical and philological writings of Bede show his judgment and learning in a very favourable point of view. His observations on the structure and characteristics of Latin verse are distinguished by good taste, and are illustrated by examples selected by himself from the best of the classic as well as from the Christian Latin poets. He sometimes criticises Donatus and the older grammarians. Bede's own metrical compositions are a proof rather of his industry than of his genius; they are constructed according to the rules of art, and possess a certain degree of correctness, but are spiritless. His poetry, of which the life of St. Cuthbert is almost the only authentic specimen, is distinguished by the use

of antiquated forms, which show the extent of his reading, and his acquaintance with the older Latin writers. The following passage from the poem just mentioned, (c. viii.) may serve as an example:

> Interea juvenis solitos nocturnus ad hymnos
> Digreditur, lento quidam quem calle secutus
> Illius incertos studuit dinoscere gressus.
> Ad mare deveniunt. Collo tenus inditus undis
> Marmoreo Cudberctus agit sub carmine noctem.
> Egreditur ponto, genibusque in littore fixis
> Expandit geminas supplex ad sidera palmas.
> Tum maris ecce duo veniunt animalia fundo,
> Vatis et ante pedes fulva sternuntur arena;
> Hinc gelidas villo flatuque foventia plantas,
> Æquoreum tergunt sancto de corpore frigus:
> Supplice tum nutu sese benedicier orant.
> Qui parens votis, verbo dextraque ministris
> Impendit grates, patriasque remittit ad undas;
> Ac matutino tectis se tempore reddit.
> Hæc comes ut vidit perculsus corda pavore,
> Semianimem curvo flatum trahit abditus antro.
> At revoluta dies noctis cum pelleret umbras,
> Æger adest vati supplex, genibusque volutus
> Se poscit Domino prece commendare profusa,
> Inciderit mœstam subito quod pondere noctem.
> "Num nostrum e speculis," dixit, "tentando latenter
> Lustrabas itiner? Sed nunc donabitur error
> Jam tibi poscenti, retices si visa quousque
> Decedam mundo." Summique exempla magistri
> Exsequitur, misso renovans qui lumine cæcos
> Præcipit auctorem reducis celare salutis.
> Tum prece languorem pellit, culpamque relaxat.
> Inque dies meritis crescenti summa Tonantis
> Gratia testis adest: pandunt miracula mentem;
> Jamque prophetalis stellante e culmine virtus
> Candida prærutilo inradiat præcordia flatu.

4. As a historian, the name of Bede will ever stand high in the list of our national writers. One of the earliest books of this class which he wrote, was the history of the abbots of his own monastery, published not long after A. D. 716. He composed the life of St. Cuthbert at the request of bishop Eadfrith and the monks of Lindisfarne,

and therefore some time before the year 721. But his most important work composed in his more mature age, was his Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Saxons. Upon this work, which was undertaken at the request of two ecclesiastics, Albinus and Nothhelm, he appears to have laboured with great diligence during several years. He derived little assistance from previous writers, for the books he quotes are few and unimportant; but his own reputation at this period of his life, and his acquaintance with the most eminent ecclesiastics of his age, placed within his reach a large mass of valuable original materials. From Nothhelm and Albinus (the latter of whom had been a disciple of Theodore and Adrian) he derived the traditions and the written documents of the history of Kent, Essex, and East Anglia; and Nothhelm, while on a visit to Rome, obtained for him transcripts of the documents preserved there relating to the mission of St. Augustine, and to the transactions between the papal see and the Anglo-Saxon church. Daniel bishop of Winchester furnished materials for the history of Wessex and Sussex; to the monks of Læstingaeu Bede was indebted for what he knew of the ecclesiastical history of the Mercians; from bishop Cynebert he obtained his information relating to the province of Lindissi, or Lincolnshire; and his own position enabled him to collect abundant materials for the history of Northumbria. Mixed up with these larger contributions we find a number of traditionary anecdotes which he had gathered from the relation of different individuals.* Bede has worked up these materials with remarkable fidelity; his narrative is clear and easy; and, as a pleasing composition, there is perhaps no production of the middle ages

* A very good detailed account of the sources of Bede's history is given by Stevenson, Introduction, pp. xxii.—xxxi.

which can be compared with his Ecclesiastical History. It has, on this account, always been a popular book; it was translated into Anglo-Saxon by king Alfred; the manuscripts of the original text which still exist are extremely numerous; it was one of the earliest of Bede's works which issued from the press after the introduction of printing, and has since passed through many editions; and it has been four times translated into English. Two of the English translations, those of Stapleton (in 1565) and Hurst (1814), were made by Roman Catholic priests, with an avowed hostility to the protestant church. The first translation by a protestant was that of Stevens (1723); another has been recently published by Dr. Giles, who professes to give a revised and corrected edition of that of Stevens. It is remarkable that the history of the abbots of Wearmouth has also been translated by a Roman Catholic clergymen, Dr. Peter Wilcock, who at the time of the publication of his book (1818) was priest of the Roman Catholic congregation at Sunderland.

The following extract, taken from the second book (c. 13) of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, may be considered a fair specimen of the style of that work, and of the general character of his Latin prose. It describes the conversion of Edwin king of Northumbria.

Quibus auditis, rex suscipere quidem se fidem quam docebat et velle et debere respondebat. Verum adhuc cum amicis principibus et consiliariis suis sese de hoc collaturum esse dicebat, ut, si et illi eadem cum illo sentire vellent, omnes pariter in fonte vitæ Christo consecrarentur; et, annuente Paulino, fecit ut dixerat. Habito enim cum sapientibus consilio, sciscitabatur singillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi doctrina hæc eatenus inaudita, et novus divinitatis qui prædicabatur cultus, videretur. Cui primus pontificum ipsius Coifi continuo respondit, "Tu vide, rex, quale sit hoc quod nobis modo prædicatur; ego autem tibi verissime quod certum didici profiteor, quia nihil omnino virtutis habet, nihil utilitatis, religio illa quam hucusque tenuimus. Nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturæ deorum nostrorum se subdidit, et nihilominus multi sunt qui ampliora a te beneficio quam ego, et majores accipiunt dignitates magisque prosperantur in omnibus,

quæ agenda vel acquirenda disponunt. Si autem dii aliquid valerent, me potius juvare vellent, qui illis impensius servire curavi. Unde restat, ut si ea, quæ nunc nobis nova prædicantur, meliora esse et fortiora, habita examinatione, perspexeris, absque ullo cunctamine suscipere illa festinemus."

Cujus suasioni verbisque prudentibus alius optimatum regis tribuens assensum continuo subdidit, "Talis," inquiens, "mihi videtur, rex, vita hominum præsens in terris ad comparationem ejus, quod nobis incertum est, temporis, quale cum, te residente ad cœnam cum ducibus ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in medio et calido effecto cœnaculo, furentibus autem foris per omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluviarum vel nivium, adveniensque unus passerum domum citissime pervolaverit; qui cum per unum ostium ingrediens, mox per aliud exierit, Ipso quidem tempore, quo intus est, hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed tamen parvissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, mox de hieme in hiemem regrediens tuis oculis elabitur. Ita hæc vita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem sequatur, quidve præcesserit, prorsus ignoramus; unde si hæc nova doctrina certius aliquid attulit merito esse sequenda videtur." His similia et cæteri majores natu ac regis consiliarii divinitus admoniti prosequebantur.

Adjecit autem Coifi, quia vellet ipsum Paulinum diligentius audire de Deo, quem prædicabat, verbum facientem; quod cum, jubente rege, faceret, exclamavit, auditis ejus sermonibus, dicens, "Jam olim intellexeram nihil esse quod colebamus, quia videlicet quanto studiosius in eo cultu veritatem quærebam, tanto minus inveniebam. Nunc autem aperte profiteor quia in hac prædicatione veritas claret illa, quæ nobis vitæ, salutis, et beatitudinis æternæ dona valet tribuere. Unde suggero, rex, ut templa et altaria, quæ sine fructu utilitatis sacravimus, ocius anathemati et igni contradamus." Quid plura? præbuit palam assensum evangelizanti beato Paulino rex, et, abrenunciata idolatria, fidem se Christi suscipere confessus est. Cumque a præfato pontifice sacrorum suorum quæreret, quis aras et fana idolorum cum septis quibus erant circumdata, primus profanare deberet; ille respondit, "Ego. Quis enim ea, quæ per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo vero donatam destruam?" Statimque, abjecta superstitione vanitatis, rogavit sibi regem arma dare et equum emissarium, quem ascendens ad idola destruenda veniret (non enim licuerat pontificem sacrorum vel arma ferre, vel præter in equa equitare). Accinctus ergo gladio accepit lanceam in manu, et ascendens emissarium regis pergebat ad idola; quod aspiciens vulgus æstimabat eum insanire. Nec distulit ille, mox ut propiabat ad fanum, profanare illud, injecta in eo lancea quam tenebat; multumque gavisus de agnitione veri Dei cultus, jussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis. Ostenditur autem locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem, ultra amnen Doruuentionem, et vocatur hodie Godmunddingaham, ubi pontifex ipse, inspirante Deo vero, polluit ac destruxit eas quas ipse sacraverat aras.

Bede's works were first published in a collective form

at Paris in 1544 and 1545, and reprinted in 1554, in six volumes folio. These editions are now of extreme rarity; the first three volumes of the former, containing the theological writings, are in the British Museum. Another collective edition was printed at Basil in 1563, in eight volumes, folio, which is much more common. A more complete edition was published at Cologne in 1612, and reprinted in 1688, in eight volumes folio. The first Cologne edition is that of most frequent occurrence. In this edition, the first volume contains the treatises on grammar and the smaller scientific tracts attributed to Bede, many of which are evidently supposititious; in the second volume are given the treatises De Rerum Natura, De Temporum Ratione, De Temporibus, and some other tracts on similar subjects; in the third, the Ecclesiastical History, the Lives of Saints (most of them erroneously attributed to Bede), the Martyrology, and the books De Locis Sanctis, De Interpretatione Nominum Hebraicorum, &c.; in the fourth, the Commentaries on the Old Testament; in the fifth and sixth, the Commentaries on the New Testament; in the seventh, the Homilies and the writings designed for the religious instruction of the people; and in the eighth, the treatises de Templo Salamonis and De sex Dierum Creatione, with the *Quæstiones* on different books of the Old Testament, and some other theological tracts. The History of the abbots of Wearmouth and the other tracts edited separately by Sir James Ware and Henry Wharton are not inserted in any of the foregoing Collections. Gehle, in his Disputatio Historico-Theologica, has given a programme of a suggested new arrangement for an edition of the works of Bede.

Editions of Bede.

The Ecclesiastical History was first printed at Strasburg, about 1473, by Eggesteyn.

Liber Bedæ de Schemate et Tropo ; ejusdem liber de Figuris et Metris ; commentarius Sergii de Litera, &c. Mediolani, per M. Ant. Zarotum, 1473. 4to. A very rare book.

Historia Ecclesiastica, without title, but ending, Finiunt libri historie ecclesiastice gentis anglorum. fol. without date or place, but of the fifteenth century. Perhaps this is one of the two editions said to have been printed at Strasburg in 1483, and at Spire in 1493. (Stroth. pref. to Eusebius, p. xxix.)

Opera Comment. à Ulric Gering et Rembolt. Paris, 1499. A very rare book.

Bedæ Commentarii in omnes Epistolas Pauli. fol. 1499. Edited by Gaufridus Boussardus.

Ecclesiastica Historia divi Eusebii : et Ecclesiastica Historia gentis Anglorum Venerabilis Bede : cum utrarumque historiarum per singulos libros recollecta capitulorum annotatione. Bede's work begins at the middle of the volume, without any title, and at the end is the imprint, Libri ecclesiastice historie gentis Anglorum impressi in inclyta ciuitate Argentinen. diligenter revisi ac emendati finiunt feliciter. Anno salutis nostre Millesimo quingentesimo xiiij. die Marcii. fol.

Hoc in volumine continentur auctores infrascripti. Probi Instituta Artium. &c. fol. Impressum Mediolani. Anno domini MCCCCCIIII. Die .ii. Decembris. Not paged. The last tract in the volume is Bedæ Sacerdotis de Metrica ratione liber unicus.

Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri de temporibus sive de sex ætatibus huius seculi Liber Incipit. P. Victoris De Regionibus Vrbis Rome Libellus Aureus. Cum privilegio.—Impressum Vene. per Joan. de Tridino alias Tacuino anno domini .M.D.V. die .xxviii. Mai. 4to.

Bedæ Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ libri quinque. fol. Argent. 1506.

Liber de Temporibus, seu de vi. Ætatibus hujus seculi. 4to. Paris, 1507.

A reprint of the edition of the Eccl. Hist. of 1500, is said to have appeared at the same place in 1514. (Fabr.)

Bedæ Repertorium, seu Tabula Authoritatum Aristotelis et Philosophorum, cum Comm. de Tropis S. Scripturæ et de Metrica Ratione, fol. Venet. 1522.

Hoc in Volumine continentur. M. Val. Probus de Notis Roma., &c. . . . . Ven. Beda de Computo per gestum digitorum. Idem de Loquela. Idem de Ratione unciarum . . . . Hæc omnia nunc primum edita. Venetiis, in Ædibus Joannis Tacuini Tridinensis. Mense Februario M.D.xxv. 4to.

De Schematibus et Tropis Sacrarum Literarum Liber Bedæ Presbyteri Anglosaxonis. Small 8vo. Basil, 1527. From a MS. "ex bibliotheca Laurissana."

De Natura Rerum et Temporum Ratione, libri duo. fol. Basil. 1529.

De Figuris Sententiarum ac Verborum, P. Rutilii Lupi rhetoris antiquissimi, &c. . . . . Bedae presbyteri Anglosaxonis de Schematibus et tropis sacrarum literarum, Liber I., &c. 8vo. Venet. 1533. The tract of Bede occupies pp. 36—47, of this little volume.

Bedæ Presbyteri Anglosaxonis Homiliæ Æstivales de Tempore et de Sanctis 8vo. Coloniæ, 1534.

Bedæ Presbyteri Commentarii in Epistolas Canonicas. 8vo. Coloniæ, 1534.

Bedæ Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis Homiliæ in D. Pauli Epistolas et alias Veteris et Novi Testamenti lectiones tam de Tempore quam de Sanctis. 8vo. Coloniæ, 1535.

De Schematibus et de Tropis, edited by Bartholomæus Westheimer. Basil, 1536.

Bedæ Presbyteri Anglosaxonis, Monachi Benedicti, viri literatissimi opuscula complura de temporum ratione diligenter castigata . . . . Nunc primum inventa ac in lucem emissa. fol. Coloniæ, 1537. The tracts contained in this volume are, the Ephemeris ; Annales canones de solaris et lunaris temporis computatione ; the treatise De Natura Rerum ; De Temporum Ratione ; the larger book de Temporum Ratione ; De Paschæ celebratione ad Uuichredam presbyterum ; De Ordinatione feriarum paschalium ; canones ad inveniendum ea quæ continentur circulo decennovenali ; circuli decennovenales.

Bedæ Presbyteri Homiliæ Hyemales, Quadragesimales, de Tempore item et Sanctis. 8vo. Coloniæ, 1541.

Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri theologi doctissimi juxta ac sanctissimi, Commentationum in sacras literas, Tomus primus. fol. Parisiis. Apud Joannem Roigny, via ad D. Iacobum, sub Basilisco et quatuor Elementis, 1545. The first vol. contains the commentaries on the Old Testament.—Tomus secundus, ib. 1544, containing the commentaries on Mark, Luke, John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse.—Tomus tertius, ibid. 1544, contains the commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. These appear to be part of the edition of Bede's Works, published at Paris in 1544 and 1545, and in 1554.

De Computo seu Indigitatione, et de Loquela manuali per gestum digitorum. fol. Colon. 1545. fol. 1595.

De Ratione Unciarum. fol. Colon. 1548. 1595. fol. Traj. ad Rhen. 1699.

Ecclesiasticæ historiæ gentis Anglorum Libri Quinque diligenti studio a mendis, quibus hactenus scatebant, vindicati. Beda Anglosaxone Autore. fol. Antverpiæ, 1550.

Cassander published many hymns under the name of Bede, with part of the tract De Arte Metrica, Paris, 1556, reprinted in his works, Paris, 1616.

Opera Bedæ Venerabilis Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis, viri in divinis atque humanis literis exercitatissimi. 8 vol. fol. Basiliæ, per Joannem Hervagium. 1563.

Martyrologium. 8vo. Antw. 1564.

Ratio Computandi per Digitos, ab Elia Veneto. 8vo. Paris. 1565, 4to. Genev. 1622. fol. 1633.

The Martyrologium was published at Antwerp in 1565.

Venerabilis Bedæ Presbyteri Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ gentis Anglorum, Libri V. 12mo. Lovanii, 1566.

Historia Ecclesiastica, edited by L. de la Barre. fol. Paris. 1583.

De Remediis Peccatorum. 4to. Ven. 1584.

Rerum Britannicarum, id est, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Vicinarumque Insularum ac Regionum, Scriptores vetustiores ac præcipui. fol. Lugdun. 1587. Edited by Hieronymus Commelinus.—pp. 147—280. The Ecclesiastical History, from a MS. in the library of Pithœus.

Historia Ecclesiastica, 12mo. Heidelb. 1587.

Venerabilis Bedæ Axiomata philosophica, studio M. Joannis Kroeselie. Impensis R. Oliff. 8vo. 1592. Editions are also mentioned as being printed in 8vo. Lond. (?) 1592. Ingolstadt, 1593. Paris, 1604.

Antiqui Rhetores Latini . . . . ex bibliotheca Francisci Pithœi, I. C. 4to. Paris, 1599. pp. 342—355. Bedæ Presbyteri Liber de Tropis Sacræ Scripturæ.

Venerabilis Bedæ Presbyteri Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Gentis Anglorum Libri V. 12mo. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1601. Apparently a reprint of the edition of 1556.

Canisius, Lectiones Antiquæ, tom. v. 4to. 1601. p. 692.—Ed. Basnage, vol. ii. fol. Antverpiæ, 1725, pp. 1—24. The metrical life of St. Cuthbert, from a MS. in the possession of his friend Velser.

Grammaticæ Latinæ Auctores Antiqui. . . . . Opera et studio Heliæ Putschii. 4to. Hanov. 1605. pp. 2327—2349, Beda Sacerdos de Orthographia.—pp. 2349—2382, Bedæ Sacerdotis de Metrica Ratione.

Venerabilis Bedæ Anglo-Saxonis Presbyteri in omni disciplinarum genere sua ætate doctissimi Opera quotquot reperiri potuerunt omnia. 8 vol. fol. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1612.

De Indigitatione et manuali Loquela liber. ex recens. Fed. Morelli. 8vo. Lutet. Par. 1614.

Axiomata Philosophica, ex Aristotele et aliis Philosophis collecta, 8vo. Col. Allobr. 1618.

Adamanni Scotohiberni Abbatis celeb. de Situ Terræ Sanctæ . . . . Accessit eorundem librorum Breviarium, seu Compendium, breviatore Venerabili Beda Presbytero. 4to. Ingolstadt, 1619. Bede's tract de Locis Sanctis.

Axiomata Philosophica Venerabilis Bedæ, viri in divinis atque humanis literis exercitatissimi, ex Aristotele et aliis præstantibus Philosophis diligenter collecta: una cum brevibus quibusdam explicationibus ac limitationibus. 12mo. Genevæ, 1631.

Acta Sanctorum . . . collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus. Januarius. Tom. I. fol. Antverpiæ, 1643. pp. 943—946. The life of St. Felix.

Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri V. a Venerabili Beda Presbytero scripti; tribus præcipue MSS. Latinis, a mendis haud paucis repurgati: ab augustissimo veterum Anglo-Saxonum Rege Aluredo (sive Alfredo) examinati; ejusque paraphrasi Saxonica eleganter explicati; tribus nunc etiam MSS. collati, &c. Edited by Abraham Wheloc. Fol. Cantabrigiæ, 1643. The Latin text is formed from three

MSS. preserved in the libraries of Trinity College Cambridge, of Dr. Ward, and of Sidney College, Cambridge; the Anglo-Saxon version from MSS. in the Public Library and that of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Library of Sir Robert Cotton. The Saxon Chronicle is added to this edition.

Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica, additis insuper Legibus Anglo-Saxonibus, &c. fol. Cantab. 1664.

Venerabilis Bedæ Epistolæ Duæ, necnon Vitæ Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girwiensium . . . . Ex antiquis codicibus MSS. in lucem emisit, et notis ad rem historicam et antiquariam spectantibus, illustravit Jacobus Waræus Eques Auratus. 8vo. Dublin. 1664.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum II. fol. Lut. Par. 1669. pp. 877—915. The prose life of St. Cuthbert.—pp. 915—937. The Metrical Life of the same Saint.

Epistola ad Albinum Abbatem, cum Annott. Mabillonii. 8vo. Paris, 1675.

Mabillon, Vetera Analecta. fol. 1675, tom. i. p. 9. Ed. nova. fol. Paris, 1723, p. 398. The Epistle of Bede to the Abbot Albinus.

Bedæ Presbyteri et Fredegarii Scholastica concordia ad senioris Dagoberti definiendam monarchiæ periodum, atque ad primæ totius Regum Francorum stirpis Chronologiam stabiliendam, in duas partes divisa, quarum prior continet Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, cum notis et Dissertatione de auctore hujus Historiæ, posterior Dissertatio de annis Dagoberti Francorum regis, eo nomine primi. Auctore P. F. Chiffletio, Soc. Jesu Presbyt. fol. Paris, 1681.

Opera. 8 vol. Colon. Agrip. 1688. A reprint of the edition of 1612.

Opera quædam Theologica, nunc primum edita, necnon Historica, antea semel edita, &c. 4to. London, 1693. (by Henry Wharton).—pp. 1—190. Bedæ Expositio in Genesin.—pp. 191—214. Bedæ Expositio in Canticum Abacuc.—pp. 221—240. The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth.—pp. 241—251. The Epistle to Plegwin.—pp. 252—267. The Epistle to Egbert.

Martene, Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum. Tomus Quintus. fol. Lutetiæ Paris. 1717. pp. 111—294, the Commentary on Genesis, "ex plurimis MSS. Codicibus."—pp. 295—314, the Commentary on Abacuc, from three MSS. at Fleury, Corbei, and the monastery of St. Michael "in periculo maris."— pp. 315—382, eleven Homilies, not included in the editions of his works, from a MS. at Tours.—pp. 383—398, Prayers attributed to Bede, from a MS. at Corbei.

Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri Quinque, auctore Sancto et Venerabili Baeda Presbytero Anglo-Saxone, una cum reliquis ejus Operibus Historicis in unum Volumen Collectis. Cura et Studio Johannis Smith, S. T. P. et Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis non ita pridem Canonici. fol. Cantabrigiæ, Typis Academicis, 1722. pp. 1—34, the Treatise De Sex hujus Seculi Ætatibus.—pp. 37—224, the Ecclesiastical History.—pp. 227—264, the Prose Life of St. Cuthbert.—pp. 267—291, the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert.—pp. 293—302, the history of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Yarrow.—pp. 305—312, the letter to bishop Eg-

bert.—pp. 315—324, the Treatise de Locis Sanctis.—pp. 327—460, The Martyrologium.—pp. 463—468, the life of St. Felix.—pp. 471—649, Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the Ecclesiastical History.

Bedæ et Claudii Taurinensis itemque aliorum Veterum Patrum Opuscula a Canonicis regularibus Sancti Salvatoris Bononiæ majori ex parte nunc primum edita. 4to. Bonon. 1755. The only work of Bede printed in this volume, is the Præfatio in Epistolas canonicas, which occupies two pages.

Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. Ad Fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum recensuit Josephus Stevenson. 8vo. London, 1838. Published by the Historical Society.

Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie. 4to. Paris, 1839. tom. iv, pp. 794—815. The Treatise de Locis Sanctis, printed as a continuation of the work of Bernardus Sapiens.

Translations.

King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the Ecclesiastical History, printed in the editions of the original by Wheloc (1643) and Smith (1722).

The History of the Church of Englande. Compiled by Venerable Bede, Englishman. Translated out of Latin in to English by Thomas Stapleton, Student in Diuinite. 4to. Antwerp. 1565.

Historie of the Church of England. 8vo. St. Omers, 1622. This is a reprint of Stapleton's Translation.

Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation from the coming of Julius Cæsar into this Island in the 60th year before the incarnation of Christ till the year of our Lord 731. Written in Latin by Venerable Bede, and now translated into English from Dr. Smith's Edition. To which is added, the Life of the Author, also explanatory Notes. 8vo. London, 1723. The translator was John Stevens.

The History of the Primitive Church of England, from its origin to the year 731. Written in Latin by Venerable Bede, Priest of that Church, a few years before his death. In Five Books. Now translated by the Rev. William Hurst, of St. Mary's Chapel, Westminster. 8vo. London, 1814.

The Lives of Benedict, Ceolfrid, Easterwine, Sigfrid, and Huetbert, the first five abbots of the united monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Translated from the Latin of Venerable Bede. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author. By the Rev. Peter Wilcock. 8vo. Sunderland, 1818.

The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, translated from the Latin of Venerable Bede, to which is prefixed, a Life of the Author, by J. A. Giles, LL.D. 8vo. London, 1840.

Popular Treatises on Science, written during the Middle Ages. Edited by Thomas Wright. 8vo. London, 1841. (Published by the Historical Society of Science). pp. 1—19. The Anglo-Saxon abridged version of Bede's Treatise De Natura Rerum.

BEDE'S LITERARY FRIENDS.—ACCA, ALBINUS, NOTHHELM, DANIEL, ETHELWALD, FORTHHERE, HWETBERT, PLEGWIN, WITHRED, CUTHBERT.

IN the course of his numerous writings, Bede introduces the names of several of his literary friends, most of whom, as we learn from other sources, were eminently distinguished for their learning and virtues.

Many of the most important of his commentaries on the Scriptures were composed at the desire of Acca bishop of Hexham, and dedicated to that prelate.* Acca was a man of considerable learning and great piety; he had received his first instructions among the congregation of scholars assembled around bishop Bosa, and he quitted their society to place himself under Wilfred, who ordained him a presbyter. He continued to be one of Wilfred's most faithful followers until his death, accompanied him on his last journey to Rome (where he finished his studies), and was chosen to succeed him in the see of Hexham.† Bede describes the zeal with which he laboured to adorn and enlarge his church, and to enrich it with "a most ample and noble library."‡ In 731, when Bede completed his history, Acca is mentioned as still holding the bishopric of Hexham;§ but soon afterwards, in 732 or 733, he was driven from it for some cause now

* These are the Commentaries on Genesis, on the first part of Samuel, on Ezra and Nehemiah, on Mark, on Luke, and on the Acts of the Apostles.

† Bede, H. E. v. 20. Ricard. Hagustald. De Stat. &c. Hagust. Eccl. (ap. Twysden) p. 297. The Saxon Chron. says that Acca was made bishop in 710, the year after Wilfred's death.

‡ Amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit. Bede, loc. cit. See also Eddius, De Vit. Wilf. c. 21, and Ric. Hagust. p. 297.

§ Bede, H. E. v. 23.

unknown.* He seems to have retired to Whitern (Candida Casa), where he remained a few years. The date of his death is uncertain; but the best authorities place it on the twentieth of October, 740,† when his body was carried to Hexham to be buried in the church which owed to him so much of its beauty.‡ Bale and Pits have so far misunderstood the words of Bede, as to attribute to Acca a collection of lives of the saints whose relics were deposited in the church of Hexham, and a treatise "De ecclesiasticis sui chori officiis." On the same authority, also, Leyser places the name of Acca in the list of medieval Latin poets. Leland speaks as having seen a collection of his letters, one of which addressed to Bede is still preserved, in which he urges that scholar to devote his learning to the illustration of the Scriptures.

Albinus, who is described by Bede as being "most learned in all branches of knowledge," was his adviser and principal assistant in composing the Ecclesiastical History.§ He had been the disciple of Theodore and Adrian, and had succeeded the latter (on his death in 708) as abbot of the monastery of St. Peter, or, as it was afterwards named, of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, being mentioned by the old historians as the first abbot of that house who was an Englishman by birth.|| The Saxon

* A.D 731. Acca episcopus de sua sede fugatus. Continuat. of Bede. A.D. 733. And Acca wæs adrifen of biscopdome. Chron. Sax. with which Florence of Worcester agrees. Ric. Hagust. p. 297, says 732, and adds, et ut quibusdam videtur postea .viii. annis vixit. As Richard appears to have used original documents, we may perhaps consider the date given by him as the most authentic.

† Ric. Hagust. p. 298. The Saxon Chron. places his death in 737.

‡ Simeon Dunelm. (ap. Twysden) p. 101, who gives an account of his monument. Ric. Hagust. p. 298.

§ Auctor ante omnes atque adjutor opusculi hujus Albinus, abba reverentissimus, vir per omnia doctissimus, extitit. Bede, H. E. prolog.

|| Bede, *ib*. Chron. W. Thorne (ap. Twysden), col. 1771.

version of Bede speaks of him as having travelled in foreign countries.* A letter is still preserved in which Bede thanks him for some contributions to the Ecclesiastical History.† Having survived the publication of that work only a few months, he died in 732, and was buried by the side of his preceptor Adrian.‡

Nothhelm,§ another contributor to Bede's historical undertaking, was at that time a presbyter of London, distinguished for his learning and literary taste.|| During his residence at Rome, he copied for Bede from the papal archives the documents relating to the conversion and history of the Anglo-Saxons.¶ He lived in personal intercourse with Bede, and either forwarded to him, or conveyed to him in person, many of the communications of Albinus; it was he who addressed to him the thirty questions on the books of Kings, the discussion of which formed a work which Bede addressed to Nothhelm, and which is still extant.** He was also a friend of Boniface, one of whose letters to Nothhelm is printed in the collections of his Epistles.†† In 735, Nothhelm was chosen to succeed Tatwine in the see of Canterbury;‡‡ and in the year following he received the pallium from pope Gregory III.§§

* Se wæs wide ge-faren and ge-læred.

† This letter was printed at Paris by Mabillon, in 1675. See the list of Editions of Bede, p. 287.

‡ Chron. W. Thorne, col. 1772.

§ In Latin MSS. the name is commonly spelt Nothelmus; in Anglo-Saxon it is Noðhelm, i.e. the bold helm.

|| W. Thorne, Chron. col. 1772, calls him, (without any apparent reason or authority) cathedralis ecclesiæ sancti Pauli Londoniæ archipresbyter.

¶ Bede, H. E. prolog.

** Printed in the first Cologne edition of his works, vol. iv. p. 333.

†† No. 40, in the edition of 1789.

‡‡ Continuat. of Bede, in that year. Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 98.

§§ Chron. Sax. in anno. Steph. Birchington, vit. Arch. Cant. in the Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 3. Chron. W. Thorne, in Twysden, col. 1772. Authorities in the Anglia Sacra, i. pp. 85 and 98.

The Saxon Chronicle and the continuator of Bede place Nothhelm's death in 739: other (but more modern) authorities state that it took place in 740,* or 741.† The day of his decease is differently fixed on the 17 or 16 Kal. Nov., that is on the 16th or 17th day of October.‡ He was buried at Canterbury. Bale and Pits attribute to him several books, which he is stated to have composed chiefly from the materials he brought from Rome. Their genuineness is so problematical, that it is unnecessary to repeat their titles.

We know nothing more of the earlier days of bishop Daniel, than that he is said to have studied at Malmsbury, and to have been the intimate friend of Aldhelm.§ When, in 705, the older diocese of Wessex was divided into two, that of Sherborne being entrusted to Aldhelm, the other, that of Winchester (including the Isle of Wight), was given to Daniel.|| In 721, he went to Rome.¶ After his return, he furnished Bede with the materials for the history of the kingdom of the West-Saxons;** and in 731, the year in which Bede completed his work, he consecrated Tatwine archbishop of Canterbury.†† Although he must have been considerably older than Bede at that time, yet he continued to hold the see of Winchester for thirteen years afterwards, and resigned it in 744,‡‡ to spend the few

* Anglia Sacra, i. p. 85.

† Florence of Worcester, on that year.

‡ The first of these days is given by an authority in the Anglia Sacra, i. p. 52. The second, which appears to be the more correct, rests on the authority of Florence of Worcester and of old writers in the Anglia Sacra, i. pp. 3, and 85.

§ Chron. T. Rudborne, in Angl. Sacr. p. 195. Leland, de Script. Brit. and Tanner.

|| Bede, H. E. v. 18.

¶ A.D. 721. Her Daniel biscop ferde to Rome. Chron. Sax.

** Bede, H. E. prolog.

†† Chron. Sax. in Anno.

‡‡ Chron. Sax. in Anno. Postmodum, ut vivacem senectam sancto con-

remaining days of his long life in retirement at Malmsbury, where he died in 745.* In the time of William of Malmsbury, it was doubtful whether the monks of Winchester or those of Malmsbury had the best claim to the honour of possessing his remains.† Daniel had the reputation of being a man of great learning; but there is nothing to justify Bale and others in attributing to him the books whose titles they enumerate. He is said to have been instrumental in persuading Boniface, who was a monk of his diocese, to attempt the conversion of the Germans; and he not only gave him letters of recommendation when he departed on his mission, but, amid the difficulties and disappointments attending on his arduous task, he wrote him a letter of encouragement, pointing out to him the most judicious method of catechising, and convincing the ignorant people for whose spiritual welfare he was labouring. Three letters from Daniel to Boniface, and one from Boniface to Daniel, are printed in the collection of Boniface's Epistles.‡

We have reason to suppose that another friend of Bede was Ethelwald,§ who from a monk of Lindisfarne had been made abbot of Mailros, and who, about A.D. 721, succeeded Eadfrith as bishop of Lindisfarne. He was also the friend of Ceolwulf king of Northumbria, to whom Bede dedicated his Ecclesiastical History; and when that

summaret otio vivens honorem exuit, Melduni, quantum vixit monachum exercens, ut fama fert sinceriter ad nos per successiones manans. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. p. 241. Conf. T. Rudborne, in the Anglia Sacra, p. 195.

* Chron. Sax. in anno.

† W. Malmsb. loc. citat.

‡ They are the 1st, 12th, 13th, and 14th Epistles, in the edition of 1789. The last of these, which contains the directions for catechising the unconverted Germans, had been printed by Baronius, Annal. ad an. 724.

§ The name is written Ædiluualdus in the brief continuation of Bede. Ediwaldus, in Tanner.

monarch, disgusted with the dissensions which troubled his kingdom, resigned his throne in 737, he became an inmate of Ethelwald's monastery at Lindisfarne. According to Simeon of Durham, Ethelwald attempted to perpetuate his name by inscribing it on a handsome stone cross which he had erected at Lindisfarne, but which was subsequently destroyed by the Danes.* Dempster, without citing his authority, attributes to him a life of St. Cuthbert and a Chronicle of the Abbots of Mailros.† He died in 740.‡

We may perhaps reckon among the bishops who honoured Bede with their friendship, Forthhere§ bishop of Sherborne, to whose learning the historian bears direct testimony.|| In 709 he succeeded Aldhelm in the see just mentioned, and he is mentioned by Bede, at the conclusion of his history, as still holding it. In 737, he accompanied Frythogith queen of the West-Saxons to Rome.¶ Of his subsequent history we are entirely ignorant; but he seems to have resigned his bishopric when he went to Rome, and it is not improbable that he died there. All the old bibliographers admit Forthhere among the list of English authors, but they cite none of his works; and Tanner says, scripta ejus ignorantur. Two letters addressed to this prelate are preserved among the Epistles of Boniface.**

Amongst Bede's friends in his own monastery, we must

* Simeon Dunelm. p. 7.

† Dempster, Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. p. 255.

‡ Contin. of Bede. Chron. of Mailros.

§ The name is written in Bede, Fortheri. In the Latin writers it is generally, Fortherius. The common Saxon form is, Forðhere (i.e. the front of the army).

|| Bede, H. E. v. 18.

¶ A.D. 737. Her Forþhere biscop and Fryþogið cwen ferdon to Rome. Chron. Sax.

** Nos. 148 and 155, in the last edition of Boniface, 1789.

give the first place to the abbot Hwetbert,* who, after having succeeded Sigfrid as superior of the dependant monastery of Yarrow, was elected to succeed Ceolfrid in 716, as abbot of Wearmouth, and was confirmed in that office by bishop Acca. All that we know of this person is derived from the brief notice given by Bede, who represents him as having from his childhood been an inmate of the monastery of Yarrow, and as being distinguished by his acquirements and his studies. Bede also informs us that Hwetbert had made a long stay at Rome in the time of pope Sergius (and therefore previous to 701), where he had completed his studies; and that he had been ordained a presbyter twelve years before the resignation of Ceolfrid, i. e. in 704.† Bede dedicated to the abbot Hwetbert his larger treatise De Temporum Ratione. Hwetbert was probably alive in 731, but we have no information respecting the period of his death. Bale and Pits, who represent him as having passed his latter days in Germany, confound him with a German bishop named Huebertus.

Another friend of the historian was Plegwin, of whom nothing further is known than that he was probably a monk of York. It appears that Bede's treatise De sex ætatibus mundi had afforded some of his enemies an opportunity of trying to throw a slur upon his reputation; and one of these persons, when supping at the table of the

* The name is differently spelt. Bede has it Huaetberctus, in his history of the abbots of Wearmouth. In different MSS. it is corrupted to Hubertus, Huvetbertus, Hunebertus, Huebertus, Wiebertus, &c It signifies valorous or quick bright, or, perhaps simply, very bright.

† Qui a primis pueritiæ temporibus eodem in monasterio non solum regularis observantia disciplinæ institutus, sed et scribendi, cantandi, legendi, ac docendi fuerat non parva exercitatus industria. Romam quoque temporibus beatæ memoriæ Sergii papæ accurrens, et non parvo ibidem temporis spatio demoratus, quæque sibi necessaria judicabat, didicit, descripsit, retulit. Insuper et duodecim ante hæc annos presbyterii est functus officio. Bede, Hist. Abbat. Wir. et Girw. p. 301, in Smith's edition.

younger Wilfrid bishop of York, had accused him of broaching in that work heretical opinions. Plegwin, who was present, wrote Bede an account of the conversation, who, in return, addressed to Plegwin a letter in defence of his opinions, which is still preserved.*

Bede dedicated his treatise "On the Celebration of Easter, or on the Vernal Equinox, according to Anatolius," to his friend the presbyter Withred, or, as the name is printed in the common editions of his works, Wichred. The old bibliographers pretend that he was an eminent mathematician; but this statement seems destitute of authority.

We ought perhaps to reckon as the last in the list of Bede's friends, the monk who wrote the account of his dying hours. Cuthbert was Bede's disciple in the monastery of Yarrow; but nothing certain is known of his history, except that he was present at the death of his master, and that he gave a most interesting account of that event in a letter addressed to another of Bede's disciples named Cuthwine, which is still extant. It appears that Cuthbert succeeded Hwetbert as abbot of Yarrow. In several manuscripts the letter is preceded by a short sketch of Bede's life, made up from the notice he gives of

* It was printed in the collections of Bede's Opuscula by Sir James Ware and Henry Wharton. The treatise De Sex Ætatibus is generally supposed to have been composed about the year 702, and, as Bede says in this epistle that it was five years since the publication of that work, the date of the letter would thus be fixed at about 707. But the elder Wilfred was not then Bishop of York, and several circumstances seem to combine in proving that the Wilfred mentioned in the letter was the younger Wilfred, bishop of York from 718 to 732. Bede alludes in rather strong terms to the conviviality of Wilfred's table, p. 251 :—" Quod utique *in cœna illa*, in qua me *poculo debrius* culpare studuit ille, qui semet potius lectioni intentus inculpabilem facere debuerat, perficere nequibat," etc. There is some reason for thinking that the younger Wilfred was blamed for his convivial disposition : see further on, p. 299. If this supposition be correct, the work "De Sex Ætatibus Sæculi" was published at a much later date than has been supposed, or Bede here refers to a second edition of it.

himself at the end of the Ecclesiastical History, and the name of Cuthbert being prefixed to the whole, has given rise to the notion that he had written a detailed memoir of his master.

Editions of Cuthbert's Letter to Cuthwine.

It was printed in the editions of Bede's works; in Baronius, Annal. A.D. 731; in the preface to Wheloc's Bede; in Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Sec. iii. part. i.; in the Acta Sanctorum, Maii, tom. vi. p. 721; in Leland's Collectanea, vol. iii. p. 84. Most of the earlier editions are more or less corrupt or imperfect.

Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. (by Twysden). fol. Lond. 1652. pp. 8—10. Cuthbert's Letter, inserted into the text of Simeon of Durham. This is the best and most complete of the old printed texts.

Gehle, Disputatio Historico-Theologica de Bedæ Venerabilis.... vita et scriptis. 8vo. Lug. Bat. 1838. pp. 23—30. A text made up from the previously printed editions.

Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica, recens. Josephus Stevenson, 8vo. London, 1838. Introduction, pp. xiv—xix. A text made up partly from good manuscripts. The Anglo-Saxon verses quoted in the letter are here given from a nearly contemporary manuscript, evidently written in Northumberland, and now preserved at St. Gallen in Switzerland.

EGBERT OF YORK.

In the foregoing account of Bede's literary friends, we have omitted the name of Egbert archbishop of York, because he deserves a more particular notice, as one of the last of the stars of literature in the Northumbrian kingdom. This prelate was the cousin of Ceolwulf king of Northumbria, and the brother of Eadbert, to whom that monarch resigned his crown when he retired to Lindisfarne.* Egbert, when a child, had been placed in the monastery at Hexham, under bishop Eata, in or before the year 685, when Eata died. After he had pursued his studies there

* Chron. Sax. under A.D. 738. Simeon Dunelm. col. 11. (in Twysden). Alcuin, de Sanctis Eccles. Eborac. l. 1250, says of Egbert,

Hic fuit Ecgbertus regali stirpe creatus;
Nobilium coram seclo radice parentum;
Sed Domino coram meritis præclarior almis.
Dives opum terræ, miseris quas spargit egenis,
Ditior ut fieret, cœlo dum colligit illas.

with success, and when he had attained the age of manhood, he went to Rome with his brother Egred, and was there admitted to deacon's orders. If we suppose that he was placed in the monastery at the same age as Bede, and therefore that he was seven years old in 685, Egbert must have been at Rome in 703, when he completed his twenty-fifth year, the age fixed by the Canons of the Church for admission to the rank of deacon. The two brothers appear to have remained some years at Rome, and Egred died there; after which event Egbert returned to his native land.* The date of his return cannot be ascertained; but he had probably resided some years in Northumbria, when, on the death of the younger Wilfred in 732,† his royal birth, as well as his great learning and knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, pointed him out as a fit successor to the see of York.

At the period when Egbert was made bishop of York, that diocese (as well as the other parts of the island) was in a state which required the appointment of an energetic and powerful prelate. The political troubles of the age had led to a laxity of morals among the laity, and a general neglect of ecclesiastical duties. When Egbert had been consecrated little more than two years, Bede addressed to his friend a letter on the duties of the high ecclesiastical office

* Sim. Dunelm. de Hist. Dunelm. Eccl. col. 11.

† This is the date of Wilfred's death as given by the continuator of the epitome of Bede. The Saxon Chronicle and Simeon of Durham place that event two years later, in 734. There is no disagreement as to the date of Egbert's death, in 766. Alcuin, who was his pupil, says distinctly that he held the see of York thirty-four years, De Sanct. Eccl. Ebor. l. 1284,

Rexit hic ecclesiam triginta et quatuor annis.

Sim. Dunelm. agrees with Alcuin, in his book de Gestis Reg. Angl. col. 106; but in his Hist. Dunelm, Eccl. col. 11, and in his Epist. de Arch. Ebor. col. 78, he says thirty-two years, perhaps by an error of the scribes. The Sax. Chron. says, se wæs biscop .xxxvi. wintra, but this is perhaps a mere mistake of the copyist for .xxxiv. The date of Egbert's election was perhaps fixed by some writers in 734, because they thought it must have taken place the year before he received the pallium.

to which he had been elected, which, in pointing out the necessity of a reformation in his diocese, gives us an interesting picture of the state of the Anglo-Saxon church at that period.* In the first place, Bede exhorts the new prelate to shun the society of idle companions; for he says that he had heard of some bishops who, instead of surrounding themselves with learned and pious men, sought the acquaintance of jovial companions at table, men addicted chiefly to eating and drinking.† He next urges him to ordain numerous priests, and to select for that purpose men who would attend diligently to the spiritual concerns of his extensive diocese; and, above all, to cause the Apostles' creed and the Lord's prayer to be translated into Anglo-Saxon, for the use not only of the laity, but also of the priesthood, for it appears that at this time there were many even of the clergy who did not understand Latin.‡ Bede next complains of the increasing negligence of the clergy in general, and more particularly in the kingdom of Northumbria; for he says that it was reported that there were many towns and villages among the mountains and woods where during many years the voice of a christian bishop was never heard, although none of them were exempt from the contribution which was levied for his support.§ This evil he attributes to the avarice of the bishops, who sought to have large dioceses, to which they could not sufficiently attend. He

* This letter was printed by Sir James Ware, Henry Wharton, and Smith in his edition of Bede's historical works. See before, p. 273.

† It is not improbable that this is a reflection on Egbert's predecessor, Wilfred. See before, p. 296.

‡ Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari adhuc vita constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis qui Latinæ sunt linguæ expertes fieri oportet. Bedæ Epist. in Wharton, p. 255.

§ Audivimus enim, fama est, quia multæ villæ atque viculi nostræ gentis in montibus sint inaccessis ac saltibus dumosis positi, ubi nunquam multis transeuntibus annis sit visus antistes, qui ibidem aliquid ministerii aut gratiæ cœlestis exhibuerit; quorum tamen nec unus quidem a tributis antistiti reddendis esse possit immunis. Epist. Bed. p. 256.

therefore admonishes Egbert to ordain new bishops, and to seek the pallium for himself as their metropolitan, reciting to him in support of this advice the counsel which pope Gregory had given to Augustine. Bede also suggests a plan for effecting this object by changing some of the larger monasteries into episcopal sees, and allowing the abbots to be elected bishops. The next subject on which Bede's epistle touches, is the laxity of morals then prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons of all ranks, and particularly the corruptions and abuses which had crept into the monasteries. He says that it had become a custom for princes and nobles to found and endow monastic houses, in order to live in them a secular life with their wives and families, and with such of the clergy as were unwilling to conform to the stricter rules of the order. "Thus," he adds, "during about thirty years, that is, since the death of king Aldfrid, our province is become mad with that insane error to such a degree, that there has been scarcely an earl (præfectus) who in the days of his earldom has not obtained for himself a monastery of this description, and introduced his wife there by the same iniquitous transaction; and this wicked custom becoming prevalent, even the ministers and attendants of the king do the same thing. And thus, perverting the order, there are found very many who call themselves at the same time abbots and earls, or ministers or attendants of the king."* It must be remembered that Bede was a warm advocate for the celibacy of the clergy.

* Sic per annos circiter triginta, hoc est, ex quo Alfrid rex humanis rebus ablatus est, provincia nostra vesano illo errore dementata est, ut nullus pene exinde præfectorum extiterit, qui non hujusmodi sibi monasterium in diebus suæ præfecturæ comparaverat, suamque simul conjugem pari reatu nocivi mercatus adstrinxerat: ac prævalente pessima consuetudine ministri quoque regis ac famuli idem facere sategerint. Atque ita, ordine perverso, innumeri sint inventi, qui se abbates pariter et præfectos, sive ministros aut famulos regis appellant. Bedæ Epist. p. 261.

Egbert immediately acted according to the counsels given him by Bede. It has been suggested that Bede's epistle was probably written at the bishop's own desire, to serve as a cover for the reforms which he intended to introduce into his diocese,* and which the pious king Ceolwulf was eager to confirm. In effecting this object, Egbert's first care was to fortify his own authority against the opposition of those who were profiting by the abuses which it was his design to correct. When Paulinus had been obliged to retire from Northumbria in 632, he carried away the pallium which he had received from pope Honorius, and the ecclesiastics who subsequently held the see of York during a hundred and three years had been satisfied with the authority and attributes of simple bishops. Egbert now, in conformity with the advice of his friend Bede, determined to lay claim to the succession of Paulinus; and he so far succeeded, that soon after Bede's death, in the course of the year 735, he received the pallium from pope Gregory III.† It appears, however, that Egbert had been obliged to visit Rome in person, to obtain this concession.‡

We have no further information relating to the reforms which Egbert effected in his diocese. We know that he did not create new episcopal sees; and we are justified in

* Gehle, Disputatio Hist. Theol. de Bedæ Venerab. Vita et Scriptis, p. 95, *note*.

† Continuat. of Bede and the Sax. Chron. in an. 735. Alcuin, de Sanct. Eccl. Ebor. l. 1279. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 24. de Gest. Pontif. p. 269. Sim. Dunelm. de Hist. Dunelm. Eccl. col. 11. Ejusd. Epist. de Arch. Ebor. col. 78. In the latter passage, Simeon gives the date as being, septimo anno regni Ceolvulfi regis, centesimo tertio anno post discessum Paulini, hoc est anno dominicæ incarnationis DCC.XXXV. quo anno venerabilis doctor Beda obiit in Gyrvum.

‡ The Saxon Chronicle says he received the pallium *at* Rome.—An. DCCXXXV. Her onfeng Ecgbriht biscop pallium æt Rome.

supposing that his efforts were only partially successful in putting a stop to the abuses and corruptions of his age, for about eleven years after the date of Bede's letter, Boniface wrote to Egbert of York (at the same time that he addressed a similar letter to Cuthbert of Canterbury) complaining of the same corruption of manners, which had been described by Bede, and suggesting measures to redress the evil.* It is, however, certain that Egbert devoted his attention to the regulation of the affairs of his diocese; and he became eminent for his knowledge of the ecclesiastical law and discipline. Soon after his ordination to the prelacy, he composed his dialogue De Ecclesiastica Institutione, which is still preserved. He subsequently published a collection of extracts (Excerptiones) from the older Canons of the Church, on the most important points of discipline; and he composed the Confessionale and Pœnitentiale which were afterwards the standard authorities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. These two last works he appears to have published at the same time in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, in order that they might be accessible to those who were only acquainted with their native tongue.† They are now extremely valuable for the light they throw on the manners and condition of our forefathers in the eighth century. The following extracts will serve to give an idea of the character of these works, and of the minute directions which they contain.

* Bonifac. Epist. 54 (in the edit. of 1789, or Ep. 8, in the edit. of Serarius), p. 120. Inauditum enim malum est .... ut gens christiana contra morem universæ terræ, imo contra præceptum Dei, despiciat legitima matrimonia, et adhæreat incertis luxuriosis adulteriis, et nefanda stupra consecratarum et velatarum fœminarum sequatur.

† Wilkins, Concil. vol. i. p. 113, supposes these books to have been written first in Anglo-Saxon, and afterwards translated into Latin, because the Anglo-Saxon phraseology is generally found in the Latin text.

From the Confessionale.

27. Feowertyne winter mæden heo mót ágan hire licháman ge-weald. Cniht oð ꝥ he sig .xv. winter eald sig he on his fæder ge-wealdum; syððan he hine mót munecian, gif he wyle, ⁊ ná æ'r. Fæmne oð ꝥ heo sig .xiii. oððe .xiiii. winter sig heo on hyre yldrena mihtum; æfter þære yldo hire hlaford hi mót ge-fón mid hire wyllan. Se fæder his sunu, gif him mycel neod byð, he hine mót on þeowet ge-syllan, oð ꝥ he bið .vii. winter; ofer ꝥ, butan þæs suna willan, he hine ne mót syllan.

27. Puellæ quatuordecim annorum corporis sui potestatem habere licet. Puer, usque ad xv. ætatis annum, in potestate sit patris sui; deinde se monachum potest facere, si velit, et non antea. Puella, usque ad xiii. vel xiiii. annum, sit in potestate parentum suorum; post hanc ætatem dominus ejus illam capere potest, cum voluntate sua. Pater potest filium suum, magna necessitate compulsus, in servitutem tradere, usque ad septimum annum; deinde, sine voluntate filii, eum tradere non potest.

39. Béon gif hi man acwellað, cwelle hig man ráþe, æ'r hi to þam húnige cumon, ⁊ huru ꝥ hig ofer niht þæron ne wunigon, ⁊ éte man ꝥ húnig ꝥ hig worhton. Gif lytel fearh afealle on wæ'tan, ⁊ cucu sig upp-atogen, sprenge man þone wæ'tan mid halig wætere, ⁊ bereóce mid recelse, ⁊ þicge man þone wæ'tan; gif hit dead sig, ⁊ man ne mæge þone wæ'tan ge-syllan, geote hine man út.

39. Apes si occiderent hominem, statim occidantur, antequam ad mel perveniant, ita saltem ut non per noctem ibi restent; et mel quod fecerint comedatur. Si porcellus ceciderit in liquorem, et vivus sit extractus, spargatur liquor ille aqua benedicta, et suffiatur thure, et liquor sumatur; si mortuus sit, et liquor dari nequeat, effundatur.

From the Pænitentiale, lib. iv.

32. Gif hwylc ge-hádod man on húntað fáre, gif hit beo cleric, forgá .xii. monað flæsc; diacon, .ii. gear; mæsse-preost, .iii.; ⁊ bisceop, .vii.

32. Si ordinatus quis homo ad venationem prodeat, si sit clericus, xii. menses a carne se abstineat; diaconus, ii. annos; presbyter, iii.; et episcopus, vii.

33. Gif hwylc bisceop, oððe æ'nig ge-hádod man, hine oftræ'dlice oferdrince, oððe he þæs ge-swíce, oððe his hádes þolige.

33. Si episcopus quis, vel quilibet ordinatus homo, ex consuetudine se inebriet, vel ab hoc desistat, vel ordinem suum perdat.

34. Gif munuc for ofer-druncennysse spíwe, fæste .xxx. daga.

36. Si monachus ex ebrietate evomuerit, xxx. dies jejunet.

37. Seðe þurh fácen oþerne oferdrencð, fæste .xl. daga.

37. Qui per fraudem alium inebriaverit, xl. dies jejunet.

Egbert did much towards restoring learning for a time in the kingdom of Northumbria. Besides forming a noble

library at York,* he taught there with much success, and produced more than one illustrious scholar. His name is celebrated in literary history as the instructor of Alcuin. In addition to many other benefits conferred on his diocese, he added much to the embellishments of the metropolitan church of York.† Bale gives titles of other books attributed to this prelate, besides those mentioned above, but they are so evidently supposititious, that it seems unnecessary to introduce a notice of them here. Egbert died on the nineteenth day of November, 766. His brother king Eadbert had, in 758, resigned his crown to retire to the monastery at York, where he died on the nineteenth of August, 768; and the two brothers were buried near each other under one of the porches of the cathedral.‡

Editions of Egbert's writings.

Some fragments of the Pœnitentiale of Egbert were printed under the name of Bede in different collections, as in the works of Bede, in the great collection of Councils of Labbæus, in the appendix to Morinus, de Pœnitent. &c.

Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones, in re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici . . . . Opera et Scrutino Henrici Spelman, Eq. Aur. tom. i. fol. London, 1639,—pp. 258—280. The Excerptiones.—pp. 281—288. Fragments of the Pœnitentiale under the name of Bede.

Venerabilis Bedæ Epistolæ Duæ . . . . accessit Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Bedæ æqualis Dialogus de Ecclesiastica Institutione . . . . in lucem emisit Jacobus Waræus. 8vo. Dublin, 1664. pp. 91—114.

Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ a Synodo Verolamiensi A.D. CCCCXLVI. ad Londiniensem A.D. CIƆIƆCCXVII. A Davide Wilkins. Vol. 1. Lond. fol. 1737.—pp. 82—86. Dialogus Ecclesiasticæ Institutionis a domno Ecberto (from MS. Cotton. Vitel. A. XII).—pp. 101—112. Excerptiones D. Ecgberti Eboracensis archiepiscopi ex dictis et canonibus sanctorum patrum concinnatæ, et ad ecclesiasticæ politiæ

* See the Introduction to the present volume, p. 37.

† Alcuin, De Sanct. Eccl. Eborac. l. 1265.—

Inque Dei domibus multa ornamenta paravit.
Illas argento, gemmis vestivit, et auro,
Serica suspendens peregrinis vela figuris.

‡ Chron. Saxon. in an. 738. Sim. Dunelm. de Hist. Eccl. Ebor. col. 11. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 285.

institutionem conducentes (printed from MS. Cotton. Nero A. I.).—pp. 113—144. The Pœnitentiale of Archbishop Ecgbert, in Anglo-Saxon and Latin (from a MS. in Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.). The two last are printed much more perfectly than in Spelman.

Bedæ Venerabilis Opera quædam Theologica, nunc primum edita, necnon Historica, antea semel edita. Accesserunt Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Dialogus de Ecclesiastica Institutione, &c. (by Henry Wharton.) 4to. Lond. 1693. pp. 268—281. Egberti Dialogus.

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England; comprising Laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, &c. . . . . also Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana. fol. Lond. 1840. (Edited by Benjamin Thorpe, and published by the Record Commission.)—pp. 320—325. Egberti Dialogus.—pp. 326—342. The Excerptiones Ecgberti.—pp. 343—392. The Confessionale and Pœnitentiale, in Anglo-Saxon and Latin. This is by much the best edition. The fourth book of the Pœnitentiale in Anglo-Saxon has been printed from a foreign MS. in Mr. Purton Cooper's Reports on the Record Commission. Appendix (B.)

CUTHBERT OF CANTERBURY.

While Egbert held the see of York, the province of Canterbury was also superintended by a prelate distinguished beyond most of his contemporaries by his learning and energy of character. Cuthbert was a native of the kingdom of Mercia; he is said to have been abbot of a monastery of St. Mary at 'Limene' on the border of Sussex;* and he enjoyed the favour of king Ethelbald, by whose influence he was chosen to succeed Walstod in the bishopric of Hereford. He was consecrated to that see in 736, and, during the four years he held it, he was distinguished by the zeal with which he completed the different ornaments of the cathedral left unfinished by his predecessors, and particularly the rich cross begun by bishop Walstod. On the latter he ordered the following epigram to be placed, which, with another epigram preserved by William of Malmsbury, appears to be all that remains of Cuthbert's metrical compositions.†

* Evident. Eccl. Chr. Cant. ap. Decem Scriptores, coll. 2209.

† W. Malmsb. De Gest. Pontif. p. 285. Conf. Tanner and Leland.

Hæc veneranda crucis Christi veneranda sacratæ
Cœperat antistes venerandus nomine Walstod
Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis.
Sed quia cuncta cadunt mortalia tempore certo,
Ipse opere in medio moriens, e carne recessit.
Ast ego successor præfati præsulis ipse,
Pontificis tribuente Deo qui munere fungor,
Quique gero certum Cuthberth de luce vocamen,
Omissum implevi, quod cœperat ordine pulchro.

In the year 740,* Cuthbert was elected to succeed Nothelm, who had died in the preceding year, in the see of Canterbury, and he repaired immediately to Rome to receive the pallium at the hands of pope Gregory III.† It is said that on this occasion he obtained from the pope the permission to have cemeteries within the cities, instead of placing them as formerly in the suburbs, and he in particular obtained for his cathedral the privilege to have within its walls the tombs of the archbishops and others who had formerly been interred in the cemetery of the monastery of St. Augustine.‡

Few incidents of Cuthbert's life are known. About A.D. 745 or 746, Boniface addressed letters to him and to king Ethelbald, complaining of the increasing corruptions of the manners of the Anglo-Saxons, informing them of the regulations which had recently been agreed to by a council of German and Frankish bishops, and recommend-

* Continuat. of Bede, and the Saxon Chron. Other authorities, but of a much later date, place this event in 743.

† Evident. Eccl. Chr. Cant. ap. Decem Scriptores, coll. 2209, 2210. Act. Pontif. Cant. autore Gervasio, ib. col. 1640. In the early poem on Cuthbert printed in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 72, it is stated—

Est Romam tunc archiepiscopus ille profectus,
Ut causam papæ verius excutiat.
Gregorius tertius apicem summumque regebat,
Quem præconia, laus, nobilitant, decorant.

‡ Thorne, ap. Dec. Script. col. 1774, attempts to show that this account, given by the other authorities, is inconsistent with chronology; but his argument rests upon an error in the date of Cuthbert's elevation to the archbishopric.

ing a similar measure to be adopted in England. In his letter to Cuthbert,* Boniface urges that the bishops should be more attentive to the welfare of the flocks entrusted to their charge, that they should not be allowed to hunt, and that they should hold annual visitations; and he complains of the general increase of drunkenness and licentiousness, and particularly of the incontinence of the nuns. The archbishop and the king concurred in the views of Boniface, and a council was held at Cloveshoe, or Cliff, in Kent, in the year 747, in which thirty canons were enacted, directed chiefly against the negligence of the clergy and against the secular monasteries. Among other things, it was directed that the paternoster and the creed should be taught in English, and that the priests should not take fees for the baptism of infants. The acts of this council were compiled by Archbishop Cuthbert.†

Cuthbert presided at another synod held in 756 to fix the day for the observation of the feast of St. Boniface, who had suffered martyrdom in the preceding year. He died in 758,‡ on the 25th or 26th of October, and was the first prelate buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury. Before his death, he had given orders that his body should be carried secretly to the tomb, to preserve it from the monks of St. Augustine's, who appear to have harboured the design of attacking the convoy, and carrying him by force to be deposited in their cemetery with his predeces-

* The letter to Cuthbert is the 73rd in the edition of Boniface's Epistles, fol. 1789, and the 105th in the older edition of Serrarius. It is also printed in Wilkins's Concilia.

† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 197. The canons passed at this council are given in Wilkins, vol. i. p. 94.

‡ Sax. Chron. in A.D. 758. Her Cuðbryht ærcebiscop forðferde; ⁊ he heold þ arcebisceoprice .xviii. gear. The continuator of Bede, and Florence of Worcester, give the same date. Some later chronicles give 760 and 761 as the year of his death.

sors.* Cuthbert's claims to a literary reputation seem to have rested solely on his metrical compositions. Leland assures us that he saw a volume of his epigrams in the library of the abbey of Malmsbury; but no traces of it exist at present. The two epigrams preserved by William of Malmsbury give no very favourable idea of the Archbishop's style.

BONIFACE.† (WINFRID.)

After the death of Bede, learning declined rapidly among the Anglo-Saxons. The greater monastic schools still produced a few scholars, but of these the most advanced sought on the continent a field where their labours were better appreciated. The new scene of religious activity, opened first by Wilbrord, was at the same

* Act. Pontif. Cant. autore Gervasio, ap. Dec. Script. col. 1640. Godwin de Episc.

† The life of Boniface was written at the request of his successor archbishop Lul by a presbyter named Willibald. Several editions of this life have been printed. It was first given in 1603 in the sixth volume of the Antiquæ Lectiones of Canisius. Serrarius joined it to his edition of Boniface's Epistles; it was next given by Mabillon, in the Act. Sanct. Ord. Ben. sæc. iii. part 2, and by Henschenius in the Acta Sanct. Junii, tom. i.; and it has been more recently printed in the second volume of the Monumenta Germaniæ Historica by Pertz. This last is by far the best text, and is the edition quoted in the present volume. Willibald's work was the foundation of many lives written at different periods, most of them anonymous, and containing very little additional matter. Some of them will be found printed in the collections of Pertz and Dom Bouquet, in the Acta Sanctorum, &c. The most important was compiled by Othlonus, a monk of Ratisbon, in the twelfth century, who has interwoven with Willibald's narrative copies of papal briefs, the letters of Boniface, and other documents; it is printed by Mabillon, Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened. sæc. iii. part 2.—A detailed account of the labours of Boniface is given by Schmidt, Handbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte, vol. iv. The Epistolæ S. Bonifac., in the edition by Würdtwein, 1789, are so arranged and connected together as to form a life of the saint. This is the edition to which we in general refer.

time drawing out of England the religious zeal which had characterized the preceding century, and which at home no longer found the same excitement to feed its flame.

About the year 680, at Crediton in Devonshire, was born Winfrid,* whose parents were of noble, if not royal, blood. Winfrid was the favourite child of his father, who had chosen him as the heir of his worldly possessions; but, even before he had reached his fourth year, he began to exhibit a disposition for piety and study, which was fostered by the preachers and ecclesiastics who frequented his father's house. The latter, after an ineffectual attempt to change the bent of his inclinations, placed him in his seventh year under abbot Wulfhard in the monastery then called ad-Escancastre (now Exeter).† From thence he was removed to a monastic house named "Nhutscelle," in Hampshire, where, under abbot Wynbert, he was remarkable for his constant application to his studies, and from a scholar he soon became a teacher.‡ At the age of thirty he was ordained to the priesthood.§ This was about the year 710, when Ine ruled the kingdom of Wessex; soon after which the West-Saxon clergy met together to settle some questions which had created a division among them, and they determined to send one of their order to obtain the decision of Berctwald Archbishop of Canterbury. Winfrid was chosen to perform this mission; and, immediately after his return, he began to manifest the desire of travelling to convert the pagan Germans who occupied the centre of Europe.||

* The name is spelt Wynfrithus, in bishop Daniel's recommendatory letters. In other epistles printed in the collection it is Uuimfredus and Winfredus.

† Willibald, Vit. Bonif. pp. 334, 335.

‡ Willibald, pp. 336, 337.

§ Othlon. Vit. Bonif. p. 32.

|| Willibald, p. 338. Othlon. p. 32.

With this design, Winfrid with a few of his fellow monks repaired to London, which, even at this early period, was a celebrated commercial port, and there they embarked in a ship which carried them to 'Dorstet.'* They reached Friesland in 716, at the time of the rebellion of the Frieslanders, which followed the death of Pepin of Heristal, and during the persecution of the Christian congregations which had been founded on the borders of Friesland by Wilbrord. Winfrid went to Utrecht, where he waited till the arrival of Radbod, and he had an interview with the barbarian prince; but, despairing of success in that quarter, he returned to his native land.† He remained with his old preceptor at "Nhutscelle" till the autumn of 718,‡ when, unmoved by offers of ecclesiastical preferment at home,§ he again took a ship at London, and sailed for the coast of France. Winfrid's ship, aided by a favourable wind, soon arrived in the river Cuent (now called the Canche), and he landed at Cuentawich, a town which stood somewhere near the modern Etaples; from whence, after a brief stay, he went to Rome,|| where he found many of his fellow countrymen, and particularly

* Ac sic inmensis peragratis terræ partibus, prospero ovans fratrum comitatu, pervenit ad locum ubi erat forum rerum venalium, et usque hodie antiquo Anglorum Saxonumque vocabulo appellatur Lundenwich, ac non multo transacto postliminio, nautarum naviter novus quidem epipata, consentiente nauclerio, adgressus est navim, nauloque inpenso, prospero ventorum flatu pervenit ad Dorstet. Willibald, p. 338.

† Willibald, p. 339.

‡ Epistolæ S. Bonif. p. 10. Willibald, p. 339, appears to suppose that he left England in the spring of 717.

§ Willibald, who was a foreigner, and had probably imperfect information relating to this early period of his life, has been followed by all other biographers in the statement that the abbot Wynbert died during the interval of Winfrid's first and second voyages, and that the latter declined the honour of succeeding him as abbot of the Monastery. Several years later, in a letter from Germany to bishop Daniel, he speaks of his "abbot and master Uuinbertus," as being then recently dead. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 33.

|| Willibald, p. 340.

Bugga, or Eadburga, an Anglo-Saxon princess, who had quitted the pomp of the world for a cloister, and with whom he formed a lasting friendship.*

There can be no doubt that Winfrid quitted England with an earnest desire of becoming the apostle of the Germans, and he was encouraged by the advice of bishop Daniel, who gave him letters of recommendation generally to the clergy of the countries through which he had to pass, as well as a particular letter to the pope. Gregory II. who at this time occupied the papal chair, and with whom he had frequent conferences during the winter of 718 and the spring of 719, entered warmly into his design, and on the fifteenth of May in the latter year he gave him letters authorizing him to undertake the conversion of the Thuringians.† Winfrid left Rome, laden with relics, and, after having been honourably entertained at the court of Luitprand king of the Lombards, he crossed the Alps, and passed through the borders of the Bagoarii and the Germans into Thuringia.‡ After preaching there for some time with partial success, he went into France, and there received the first intelligence of the death of Radbod and of the flourishing condition of the church on the southern borders of Friesland.§ Winfrid immediately proceeded to Utrecht, and continued during three years to assist Wilbrord, who, we are told, intended (about A.D. 722) to make him one of his bishops.|| But Winfrid had higher

* Epist. S. Bonif. p. 14.

† Willibald, p. 340. Epist. S. Bonif. pp. 10—12.

‡ Incognitosque Baguariorum et confines Germaniæ terminos adgrediens, in Thyringeam juxta mandatum apostolicæ sedis considerando progressus est. Willibald, p. 340.

§ Willibald, p. 341. Among the Epistles of Boniface, p. 14, is one from Bugga congratulating him on the death of Radbod.

|| Willibald, ib. In a letter from Winfrid, written during this period, to his friend Nidhard in England, he speaks as if he had then an intention of returning to his native country.—Propterea si Dominus omnipotens

views; and, declining this honour, he quitted the society of Wilbrord, and returned to the district committed to his care by the papal letters, establishing himself at Amanaburg (Amöneburg, near Marburg), on the river Amana (the Ohm).* Here, in a short space of time, he made many converts among the Saxons and the Hessians; and, in 723, he sent one of his companions, named Binna, to inform the pope of the success of his labours. Gregory sent back the messenger with a pressing invitation to Winfrid to repair in person to Rome. He was there received with marks of the highest consideration, and, having previously been examined in his faith and having taken an oath of obedience to the pope as sole and absolute head of the church,† he was ordained a bishop on St. Andrew's Day, the thirtieth of November 723, and his commission to convert the Germans was formally repeated. On this occasion, the pope conferred upon Winfrid the name of Boniface, by which he was ever afterwards known. From Rome Boniface went with commendatory letters to Charles Martel, whose permission it was necessary to obtain, before he could venture to establish himself in the country of the Hessians in the public capacity of bishop.‡

The district which Boniface had chosen for the scene of his labours included many different tribes of the great German race, and the pagans were not the only people with whom he had to contend. The papal letters, which he carried with him after his second journey to Rome,

voluerit, ut aliquando ad istas partes remeans, sicut propositum habeo, per viam spondeo me tibi in his omnibus fore fidelem amicum, et in studio divinarum scripturarum, in quantum vires suppeditent, devotissimum adjutorem. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 17.

* Willibald, p. 342. Conf. Schmidt, Handbuch der chr. Kirchengesch. iv. 26, 27.

† The oath is given in Othlonus, and among the Epist. S. Bonif. p. 19.

‡ Willibald, p. 343. Epist. S. Bon. p. 723.

gave him a kind of authority over all the bishops and clergy within the limits assigned to his mission. The extensive region of Thuringia (under which name was also included the modern Franconia) had long been acquainted with the Gospel; but the clergy are represented as being at this time negligent in the performance of their duties, irregular in their living, and teaching schismatical doctrines.* The conversion of the Thuringians had in fact been the work of the Irish monks, who had been drawn to this part of Europe by the fame of Columbanus and St. Gall, or by those of the Frankish clergy who held similar tenets.† In the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid, the pope saw the instrument which was to bring them back to the church of Rome. In his first attempts in Thuringia, Boniface met with great opposition, and apparently received from the older clergy so many causes of vexation, that he quitted his task with disgust. In his letters to his friends, written during the earlier period of his labours, he complains more frequently of the mortifications he received from "false Christians" than of the persecutions of the pagans.‡ His difficulties were rather increased than lessened, when, after his ordination to the prelacy, he was obliged to act under the protection of the ruler of the Franks, and his rigid zeal seems to have been put to a hard trial when he thus found him-

* Conf. Willibald, p. 346. Othlon. p. 41. Schmidt, Handb. der chr. Kirchengesch. iv. p. 21.

† The pope's letter to the Germans contained the following clause: gentilitatis ritum et doctrinam vel venientium Brittonum vel falsorum sacerdotum et hæreticorum aut undecumque sint, renuentes ac prohibentes abjiciatis. Othlon. p. 46.

‡ In one letter (Epist. p. 56) he desires the prayers of the nuns, ut liberemur ab importunis et malis hominibus; non enim omnium est fides. In a letter to another nun, probably Bugga, (Epist p. 70), he says, Charitatis vestræ clementiam intimis obsecramus precibus, ut pro nobis peccatoribus apud Dominum intercedere curetis: quia multis et variis tempestatum turbinibus concussi et quassati sumus, sive a paganis, sive a falsis Christianis, seu a fornicariis clericis, sive a pseudo-sacerdotibus.

self in a manner obliged to acknowledge his fraternity with the schismatical bishops of Gaul. In a letter to bishop Daniel, written about the year 724, Boniface acquaints him with his doubts on this subject; and the English prelate, in his answer, exhorts him to bear with the errors of the Frankish clergy, and to submit in patience to the obstacles they might throw in his way, whilst his zeal had a more useful channel to employ itself in spreading the knowledge of Christ among the heathens.* Even the pope was obliged at times to moderate the zeal of his missionary. In the year 726, Boniface appears to have excited the anger of his opponents in an unusual degree, by undertaking to rebaptize persons who had already received baptism from those whom he terms "adulterous and unworthy priests," that is, by married clergy, whom he elsewhere stigmatizes as "fornicarios clericos." He applied to the pope for a confirmation of what he had done; but Gregory, in reply, urged him "to conform to the ancient custom of the church; for whoever is baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, it is in no way lawful for him to be rebaptized. For he receives the gift of this grace, not in the name of the baptizer, but in the name of the Trinity."† Some years later, pope Zacharias expressed more strongly his displeasure that Boniface had caused persons to be brought a second time to the font because they had been baptized by a priest who was ignorant of Latin, and who in performing the ceremony had said, "Baptizo te in nomine

* Epist. S. Bonifac. pp. 31 et sqq.

† Enimvero quosdam, absque interrogatione symboli, ab adulteris et indignis presbyteris fassus es baptizatos. In his tua dilectio teneat antiquum morem Ecclesiæ: quia quisque in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizatus est, rebaptizari eum minime licet. Non enim in nomine baptizantis, sed in nomine Trinitatis, hujus gratiæ donum percipitur. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 60.

Patria, et Filia, et Spiritus Sancti" (instead of Patris et Filii); the pope observes in his letter that the rite of baptism having been canonically performed, the mistake of the priest in this particular point had not introduced any error or schism into the church.*

The pagan Hessians had their chief strength in the vast wilds of the ancient Hercynian forest. Boniface found in Amanaburg a convenient position from which to carry his excursions either into the forest, which was also frequented by the Slavi, or amongst the Thuringians, who likewise held part of the forest still known as the Thüringer-wald, or into the territory of the Saxons. In preaching to these different tribes, Boniface and his companions were often exposed to perils. The people of the forests were especially barbarous and ignorant, and their preacher, whose mind was filled with the profound and mysterious doctrines of his church, appears to have found some difficulty in making his instructions plain enough to come within the grasp of their understandings. He sought the advice of his old and trusty counsellor, bishop Daniel, who sent him, in a letter still preserved, the outline of a simple catechism, by which he was first to convince them that the gods they worshipped were the creation of men, and of no avail, and then to explain to them the nature of the true God, and the history of the creation of the world and of the coming of Christ.† Boniface seems always to have had a strong prejudice in favour of the purity of the doctrines of the church of his native country, as they had been handed down from Augustine; in points of controversy he sought the opinions of the Anglo-Saxon bishops, even in opposition to those inculcated by the pope; and he sent for multitudes of Anglo-Saxons, of

* Epist. S. Bonif. p. 154.

† Epist. S. Bonif. No. 14. (Ed. 1789).

both sexes, to assist him in his labours. Among his countrymen whom he afterwards made bishops and abbots, the most distinguished were Burchard, Lul, the two brothers Willibald and Wunibald, Witta, and Gregory; among the English nuns whom he placed over his monastic foundations, his biographer has commemorated the names of Chunihilt (the aunt of Lul), her daughter Berathgit, Chunidrut, Tecla, Lioba, and Willibald's sister Waltpurgis.* In the brief acts of one of the councils assembled by Boniface we find a copy of the original abjuration of idolatry and declaration of faith which he made his converts repeat at the baptismal font;† it is a curious and unique specimen of the language of the people and age, and differs no more from pure Anglo-Saxon than two English dialects of the present day differ from each other. This near resemblance in the languages, and consequently the acknowledged affinity in blood, must have conduced greatly to the success of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries.

The form of abjuration.

Forsachistu Diabolae?	Forsakest thou the devil?
Et resp. Ec forsacho Diabolae.	*Answ.* I forsake the devil.
End allum diabol gelde?	And all worship of the devil?
Resp. End ec forsacho allom diobol gelde.	*Answ.* And I forsake all worship of the devil.
End allum diabole uuercum?	And all works of the devil?
Resp. End ec forsacho allom diaboles uuercum end uuordum, thuna erende, Uuoden end Saxnote, ende allem them unholdum the hira genotas sint.	*Answ.* And I forsake all works and words of the devil, the worship of groves, Woden and Saxnote, and all the evil spirits who are their companions.

* Othlon. Vit. Bonif. p. 42. In Mabillon's Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened. are printed early lives of several of these missionaries, as Willibald, Wunebald, Lioba (or Liobgitha), Waltpurgis, Lul, and Gregory.

† Printed in the Epist. S. Bonif., p. 126.

The confession of faith.

Gelobistu in Got almehtigan, fadaer?	Believest thou in God Almighty, the father?
Resp. Ec gelobo in Got almehtigan, fadaer.	*Answ.* I believe in God Almighty, the father.
Gelobistu in Crist, Godes suno?	Believest thou in Christ, God's son?
Resp. Ec gelobo in Crist, Godes suno.	*Answ.* I believe in Christ, God's son.
Gelobistu in halogan gast?	Believest thou in the Holy Ghost?
Resp. Ec gelobo in halogan gast.	*Answ.* I believe in the Holy Ghost.

Boniface left the court of Charles Martel, to seek the former scene of his labours, early in the year 724, his success being now ensured by the new authority with which he was armed. As his converts increased, he was obliged to increase the number of his clergy, and during the few years which immediately followed he was joined by numerous Anglo-Saxons, who became so many active preachers, and spread the knowledge of the Gospel through all parts of Hessia and Thuringia. In the collection of Boniface's Epistles a few of the letters of encouragement and congratulation, which these missionaries brought from his friends at home, are still preserved. Soon after his return to Hessia, Boniface built a monastery at Orthorp (Ohrdruf, in Thuringia). His first converts were, as usual, among the higher classes, while the mass of the Hessians, more blindly attached to the superstitions of their forefathers, persisted in their idolatry, which consisted chiefly in the worship of trees and fountains, and in a multitude of minor superstitious practices. One of the principal objects of their veneration stood in the forest, at Gaesmerae (Geismar, near Fritzlar); it was an oak of vast magnitude and antiquity, to which the pagans had given the name of the oak of Jupiter (robur Jovis). Boniface, at the suggestion of some of his converts, resolved to destroy this object of superstition, and he re-

paired to the spot with a large body of his friends and assistants. A crowd of pagan Hessians were also assembled, to witness, as they imagined, the trial of strength between their own gods and those of the Christians; for they seem not to have doubted that the deities they worshipped would interfere to protect the sacred tree, and inwardly they cursed the strangers who had thus come to invade the silence of their woods. Boniface applied the axe with his own hand; a strong wind appears to have aided his design, and, before he had made much progress with his weapon, the immense tree fell with a fearful crash, and in the concussion the trunk split itself into four pieces. The pagans were struck with fear and wonder; they acknowledged that their gods were vanquished, and, as they were accustomed to do in political invasions, so in this spiritual contest they submitted quietly to the conqueror. Boniface built a wooden oratory of the timber of the tree, and consecrated it in honour of St. Peter. It remained long a trophy of his victory, but it seems uncertain whether it was erected on the site of the tree, or at Fritzlar, where Boniface afterwards built a church dedicated to that apostle.*

In 731, pope Gregory II. died, and was succeeded by Gregory III. Boniface immediately sent a messenger to Rome, and the new pope not only continued to him the friendship which he had constantly experienced from his predecessor, but, in 732, he sent him the pallium and made him archbishop over all the German tribes in the conversion of whom he had been, or might hereafter be, instrumental.† Soon after this event, Boniface built two

* Willibald, Vit. Bonif. pp. 343, 344. Conf. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 42.

† Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 345. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 65, where is printed the pope's letter on this occasion.

churches, one at Frideslare (Fritzlar), dedicated, as we have before said, to St. Peter, the other at Amanaburg, dedicated to St. Michael; and he also founded two monasteries attached to them.* While Boniface and his companions were thus occupied in spreading Christianity among the wilds of Germany, the churches in the south were threatened with extermination by the ravages of the Saracens. In the October of 732, occurred the great battle near Tours between Charles Martel and the invaders. Boniface could not avoid being afflicted by the rumours of these invasions. In a letter to Bugga, an English nun at Rome, he persuades her to postpone a journey, which she had proposed to make, until the fears excited by the incursions of the Arabs had subsided.† This letter was written in 732, or, more probably, in 734, when the Saracens took Arles and Avignon, and, having made themselves masters of Provence, were threatening to carry their devastations into Italy.‡

At this period Boniface, in addition to his contentions with the schismatics, seems to have been involved in some disputes with the catholics, which probably originated in circumstances connected with the baptism of his converts. It is a doctrine of the church of Rome, which appears then to have been newly introduced, that a marriage between two persons, who have contracted a spiritual relationship at the baptismal font, is unlawful. We are led to suppose from his letters, that Boniface had solemnized a marriage between a widow and a man who had formerly stood as godfather to her son. The Frankish clergy, who sought every occasion of vexing him, appear

* Willibald, p. 345.

† Donec rebelliones, et tentationes, et minæ Saracenorum, quæ apud Romanos nuper emerserunt, conquieverint. Epist. S. Bonif., p. 78.

‡ Reinaud, Invasions des Sarazins en France, p. 54.

to have protested against the marriage, and, finding that the clergy of Rome joined with them, he wrote to England to ask the opinion of Nothhelm archbishop of Canterbury and Pecthelm bishop of Whitern. To the latter he says, "If this be a crime, I never heard of it before, nor did I ever find in the ancient canons or in the decretals of the pontiffs that the fathers, or in the Calculus Peccatorum that the apostles enumerated it;" * "I can in no wise understand," he says to Nothhelm, "why in one instance the spiritual relationship in the conjunction of the carnal union is so great a sin, when we are all, in holy baptism, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters of Christ and the church."† The answers of the English prelates are not preserved; but they probably advised him to act in conformity with the decree of the pope.

Among other letters which Boniface received about this time, we find one from bishop Torthelm, encouraging him to preach to and convert the Saxons.‡ We find no other intimation of his attempt to convert the Saxons at this period; but soon afterwards, about the year 736, having completed the churches and monasteries of Frideslare and Amanaburg, he went into the country of the Bagoarii (Bavaria), then governed by duke Hugobert,§ where he

* De una quoque re vestrum consilium et responsum audire desideramus. Affirmant sacerdotes per totam Franciam et Gallias, nec non et Romani, maximi criminis reum esse hominem, qui in matrimonium acciperet illam viduam, cujus ante filium in baptismo adoptivum suscipiebat. Quod peccati genus, si verum est, hactenus ignorabam: et nec in antiquis canonibus nec in decretis pontificum patres, nec in Calculo Peccatorum apostolos usquam enumerasse cognovi. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 87.

† Quia nullatenus intelligere possum, quare in uno loco spiritualis propinquitas in conjunctione carnalis copulæ tam grande peccatum sit, quando omnes in sacro baptismate, Christi et ecclesiæ, filii et filiæ, fratres et sorores esse comprobemur. Epist. S. Bonif, p. 90.

‡ Epist. S. Bonif. Ep. 28. Perhaps this name is an error for Nothhelm, in which case the letter must have been written in 735 or 736.

§ Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 345.

not only made many converts to the Christian faith, but checked the heresy which had been introduced among the older Christians by a schismatic named Ermwolf.* He then returned to Hessia, in which country and in Thuringia the number of churches increased daily. In the autumn of 738, Boniface again went with some of his converts to Rome, where he was received with great honour, and where he remained till 740.† On his return he visited Ticino (Ticena urbs), and having made a short stay at the court of Liutprand king of the Lombards, then very aged, instead of going to his own churches, he was induced by the invitation of duke Odilo, who had succeeded Hugobert in 739, to visit again the country of the Bagoarii, where he continued preaching till 741, and did much towards clearing that district of schismatics and idolaters.‡ For this purpose also, immediately after his arrival, a synod was held on the banks of the Danube; § and in the following year, 741, Boniface called together another synod at Salzburg (ad Salam Franconicam.) At the desire of duke Odilo, he divided the land of the Bagoarii into four dioceses, and ordained four bishops, whose sees were established at Salzburg, Freisingen (Frisingensis civitas), Regensburg or Ratisbon (Regina civitas), and Passau (Pataviensis Ecclesia).||

As Boniface was closing his labours among the Bagoarii, an event occurred which opened a new path for his zeal and ambition. Charles Martel died in 741, and was suc-

* Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 345. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 91. Conf. Schmidt, Handb. der Christl. Kirchengesch.

† Willibald, p. 346. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 92. In his letter to the clergy of Germany on his arrival at Rome, Boniface says that he waited there to be present at a council.

‡ Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 346.

§ Epist. S. Bonif. p. 101.

|| Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 346.

ceeded by his sons Karlomann and Pepin. In the same year also died pope Gregory III. and Zacharias was elected to the papal chair. The dynasty which nominally occupied the throne of the Franks had now so far dwindled into insignificance, that it only required the connivance of the church, which had become powerful in state affairs, to extinguish it entirely, and to give the name of kings to the family which had so long enjoyed the substance of royalty. It thus became the policy, as well as the inclination, of the children of Charles Martel to seek a close alliance with the Roman pontiff, and they began to withdraw from the 'schismatical' clergy of France the protection they had enjoyed under former monarchs. Soon after his accession, pope Zacharias addressed a letter to the Franks, enjoining them to give attention to the exhortations of Boniface, and to expel from amongst them false priests, and such as were schismatics, homicides, or men of unchaste life.* Early in the year following, 742, Boniface wrote to the pope to inform him that he had made three new bishoprics in his diocese in Germany,† and that Karlomann had given him permission to call a council to remedy the corruptions of the Frankish clergy; in the same letter he quotes the traditions of his native land as to what St. Augustine had taught, in opposition to opinions then held by the pope, and charges the latter with having authorized matrimony within the degrees forbidden by the canons, and with allowing the superstitious practices of the pagans to be celebrated even in the streets of

* Falsos et schismaticos et homicidas et fornicarios sacerdotes. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 104.

† Unam esse sedem episcopatus decrevimus in castello quod dicitur Wirzaburg; et alteram in oppido quod nominatur Buraburg; tertiam in loco qui dicitur Erphesfurt, qui fuit jam olim urbs paganorum rusticorum. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 106.

Rome.* In his answer, the pope vindicated himself from the accusations thus brought against him, approved the new bishoprics, authorized the council which Boniface proposed to call, and gave Boniface the power to appoint his successor.† The council which was held on the twenty-first of April, most probably at Ratisbon, is generally known as the first Concilium Germanicum.‡ A series of canons were there enacted, which were confirmed at another council held in the year following at Leptines in France (now Estines, in Hainault).§ A third council was held at Soissons in 744, in which Boniface endeavoured to give still more force to the reforms he was effecting in the Frankish church.||

While Boniface was thus occupied in France, he was not inattentive to the affairs of his churches in Germany. In 744 he sent one of his converts, named Sturm, a noble Bagoarian who had embraced the monastic life, to seek a suitable place to found a monastery in the wildest part of the Hessian and Thuringian forests. The task entrusted to Sturm was even then, after Boniface had been preaching to the Hessians during so many years, not without its perils; in the course of his wanderings he came one day to the road which led through the forest from Mentz to the country of the Thuringians, at the spot where it passed the river Fulda, and where a large party of the wild Slavi were bathing in the stream. The grim appearance of these naked savages alarmed even the ass on which

* Epist. S. Bonif. pp. 108, 109.

† Epist. S. Bonif. p. 111.

‡ The canons enacted at this council are printed in the Epist. S. Bonif. pp. 122 et seq.

§ Epist. S. Bonif p. 124, where the canons are printed. They contain a curious list of the early pagan superstitions. See also Othlon. Vit. Bonif. p. 48. Burchard and Willibald were present at this council.

|| Epist. S. Bonif. p. 150.

Sturm was mounted, and he was compelled to shrink from the stench which issued from their bodies. Their hatred of the Christians was evinced by dismal yells as they rushed towards him, and it was with great difficulty, that he escaped without personal injury.* From thence he followed the course of the river, where the forest became still more wild and solitary, until he arrived at a spot which seemed well calculated for his object† Here Boniface laid the foundations of the celebrated monastery which, from the river, received the name of Fulda; and he appointed Sturm its first abbot.‡

Having entrusted to Sturm the foundation of Fulda, Boniface proceeded with his reforms in the churches of the Franks, and he now ventured to attack the persons of the chief supporters of the 'schismatic' party. A circumstance occurred at this time which gave him an opportunity of putting in force the canons promulgated by the preceding councils, and which affords a very characteristic picture of the clergy of that age. The sons of Charles Martel were engaged in continual hostilities with the German nations on their north-eastern border, who, after the

* The description of the Slavi is a curious picture of the state of this part of Germany in the middle of the eighth century. Tunc quadam die, dum pergeret, pervenit ad viam, quæ ad Turingorum regionem mercandi causa ad Magontiam pergentes ducit, ubi platea illa super flumen Fuldam vadit: ibi magnam Sclavorum multitudinem reperit, ejusdem fluminis alveo . . . . lavandis corporibus se immersisse. Quorum nuda corpora animal cui præsidebat pertimescens tremere cœpit, et ipse vir Dei eorum fœtorem exhorruit. Qui more gentilium servum Domini subsannabant, et cum eum lædere voluissent, divina potentia compressi et prohibiti sunt. Vita S. Sturm. ap. Mabil. Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. III. pars 2. p. 273.

† Fulda is described as being in the eighth century, monasterium in vastissima solitudine. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 249.

‡ Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 349. Vita S. Sturm. ib. The date of the oundation of Fulda is here given from the best authorities. See also the Annales Fuldenses, in Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. vol. i. p. 345; and other chroniclers in Pertz, v. p. 35. Boniface's Charter of foundation is dated in 747, when the building was completed. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 216.

death of Charles, had thrown off the yoke of the Frankish monarchs. Karlomann invaded Germany with a powerful army in 742; in 743, the two brothers entered Bagoaria and defeated duke Odilo, when Karlomann, leaving his brother, turned his arms against the turbulent Saxons, and took the fortress of Hôhseoburg (Seeburg) on the confines of Saxony and Thuringia; in 744, Karlomann and Pepin invaded Saxony together, and reduced a second time the Saxon chieftain Theuderic.* At the time of the first Saxon war, Gerold bishop of Mentz, who with his clergy had been driven away from that diocese by the incursion of the barbarians, accompanied the army of Karlomann, and was slain in battle. Gerold must have been one of the married prelates who shocked the zeal of Boniface, for his son Gewilieb held a high station at the court of Karlomann. Gewilieb, although a favourite courtier, and probably, like his father, married, was allowed to succeed to the bishopric of Mentz. This prelate attended the second expedition against the Saxons in 744, and when the hostile armies were encamped near each other on the opposite banks of the river 'Wisuraha,' he learnt that the slayer of his father was in the Saxon army, and he immediately sent him a challenge to meet on horseback in the middle of the river. When they came to the place of meeting, Gewilieb rode to the middle of the stream, and exclaiming hastily, "Behold the sword with which I avenge my father!" thrust it through the body of the Saxon, who fell from his horse into the water. The disaster of their companion irritated the Saxons, whilst it encouraged the Franks, and was the commencement of a desperate battle in which the latter were victorious. Gewilieb was allowed to retain his bishopric, for the nobles

* Eginhard, Annal. ed. Teulet (Paris, 1840), pp. 120—122.

of Karlomann were of opinion that no man could incur blame for avenging the feud of his family.* But Boniface went to Mentz, and represented to Gewilieb the inconsistency of this conduct with the character of a Christian prelate, and in the year following, 745, he cited him before a council, which was probably held at Mentz. There, in addition to the charge of homicide and perhaps that of wedlock,† Boniface declared that he had himself seen him playing with dogs and birds, "a thing by no means permitted to a bishop;" ‡ and Gewilieb was deposed. His accuser, who had been ordained bishop and archbishop without any certain see, though he appears just before this time to have fixed himself at Cologne, was elected to fill the vacant bishopric, and from that time Mentz became the seat of an archbishop.§

At the council just mentioned, Boniface also obtained the condemnation of two leaders of the Frankish sectarians, Aldebert, or Adelbert,|| and Clemens. Clemens was an Irishman, but Aldebert was of Frankish extraction. It is probable that the only crime of the first was his attachment to the opinions of the Celtic church. Aldebert appears to have been an enthusiast, who had also

* Dixerunt . . . vicem reddidit patris morti. Presbyter Moguntin. Vit. Bonif. ap. Pertz, vol. ii. p. 354.

† It is probably to him that the pope refers in a letter written about this time, Episcopus autem condemnatus, de quo inquisisti, qui pugnator et fornicator exsistit, atque res ecclesiæ post degradationem sibi vindicare nititur, hic omnino respuendus est. Othlon. Vit. Bonif. p. 78. Gewilieb, after his deposition, appears to have retired to a church which belonged to himself. Presbyter Mogunt. p. 254.

‡ Propriis oculis se perspexisse illum cum canibus avibusque jocantem, quod episcopo nullatenus liceret. Anon. Vit. S. Bonif. ap. Bouquet, tom. iii. p. 668. Hunting appears to have been a common practice of the bishops of this time, and is repeatedly provided against in the canons and constitutions.

§ The story of Gewilieb is given in the authorities cited above, and in Othlon. Vit. Bonif. p. 51.

|| In Willibald, Vit. Bonif. the name is spelt Aeldeberclit.

adopted some of the doctrines of the Manicheans; he made numerous converts, who deserted the churches to worship at the crosses and oratories which he erected in the fields and beside fountains; he was also accused of giving the parings of his nails and the cuttings of his hair to be honoured along with the relics of the saints; he pretended to have authority by a letter which he had received from Jesus Christ; and he invoked angels whose names were unknown to the orthodox Christians.* The sentence of the council was confirmed by the pope, and Aldebert was confined in a monastery. Another partizan of the same opinions for which Clemens had suffered, an Irishman named Samson, also felt the effects of the zeal of Boniface,† who did not scruple to bring a similar charge against the venerable and learned bishop of Salzburg, Virgil.‡ He too was an Irishman, and had received his education in the monasteries of his native island; one of his greatest crimes was the belief in the existence of the antipodes.§ In this war of contending opinions, it hardly excites our surprize to find Boniface again complaining to his countrymen that he was tormented by 'false' bishops and priests.‖

Other troubles disturbed the peace of Boniface's latter years. In 745, the barbarians again overran his province.¶

* Epist. S. Bonif. p. 168. Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 347. Presbyter Moguntin. ap. Pertz, p. 354, who calls Aldebert 'pseudopropheta.' Conf. Michelet, Hist. de France, vol. i. p. 295.

† Epist. S. Bonif. p. 237.

‡ Epist. S. Bonif. p. 238.

§ The pope writes to Boniface concerning Virgil, De perversa autem et iniqua doctrina, quam contra Deum et animam suam locutus est, si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terras sint, hunc accito concilio ab ecclesia pelle sacerdotii honore privatum. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 238.

‖ Epist. S. Bonif. p. 248.

¶ Epist. S. Bonif. p. 185.

In the year following Karlomann appears to have led an army against them,* only a short time before he retired from his worldly dignities to embrace a monastic life, leaving the entire government of the Franks to his brother Pepin,† who was engaged in war with the barbarians on the German frontier during several years. Boniface now entrusted much of the labours of his own province to the bishops Willibald and Burchard, two Anglo-Saxons whom he had placed over the sees of Haegsted (Eichstädt) and Wirtzaburg. In 750, Burchard was sent to Rome to consult with pope Zacharias on the expediency of setting aside the dynasty of the Merovingian kings, and in 751, Pepin obtained the reward of his zeal in enforcing the unity of the church; he was anointed king of the Franks at Soissons by the hand of Boniface, and the unfortunate Childeric, the last monarch of his line, was banished to a monastery.‡ In 752, pope Zacharias died, and two popes of the name of Stephen followed in quick succession. To one of these, Boniface addressed a letter from Germany, where he was busily occupied in restoring more than thirty churches which had been destroyed by the pagans.§ In the same year he obtained the pope's sanction to ordain as his successor in the archbishopric of Mentz his disciple and countryman Lul, to whom he then deputed the chief management of his diocese.‖ Soon after this, Boniface was engaged in a controversy with the pope, who had sought refuge in

* Pertz, vol. v. p. 35.

† Eginhard, Annal. vol. i. p. 122.

‡ Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 348. Eginhard, Annal. i. p. 126. Annales Fuldenses, ap. Pertz, vol. i. p. 346. Annales Wirziburgenses, ib. vol. ii. p. 240.

§ Sed hoc idcirco contigit, quia præoccupatus fui in restauratione ecclesiarum quas pagani incenderunt, qui per titulos et cellas nostras plusquam xxx. ecclesias vastaverunt et incenderunt. Epist. S. Bonif. p. 259.

‖ Willibald, Vit. Bon. p. 348. The letter in which he asked the papal sanction is preserved, and printed among his epistles. Ep. 90.

France from the persecutions of the Lombards; on a former occasion he had not scrupled to accuse pope Zacharias of simony and corrupting the canons;* he now disputed the right of pope Stephen to ordain a bishop in an irregular manner,† but they were reconciled by the intervention of the king. This was the last visit of Boniface to the court of Pepin; he left it, aged and feeble,‡ yet with sufficient energy remaining to undertake the conversion of the Frieslanders, who had been the first objects of his solicitude when, nearly forty years before, he had quitted his native land. When he was departing on this expedition, he wrote a letter to one of his friends, which may be quoted as a fair specimen of his epistolary style.§

Epistola XCVII.

Reverentissimo et dilectissimo filio Jammulo archidiacono Bonifacius exiguus servorum Dei amabilem in Christo æternæ charitatis salutem.

Sæpe spiritalis charitas jungit quos corporaliter longa intercapedine disjungit. Et hæc non minima peregrinationis ærumna esse dinoscitur, quod amicus amicum quem ardenter diligit longe disjunctum tristis et mœrens memorat, et adversantem inimicum prope tribulatorem et molestum difficulter patitur. Utinam te, frater, peregrinationis hujus consolatorem prope habeam, tuo sancto consilio utar, consolatione gaudeam, aspectu charæ faciei læter, et sancta exhortatione reficiar. Sed quia hoc fieri vitæ mortalis conditio et rerum ratio non permittit, faciat vera charitas, solum et maximum quod concedit et præcipit Deus: *Hoc est præceptum meum, ut diligatis invicem,* etc. Amet in Deo veraciter absentem, quem corporaliter præsentem tenere nequit. Et sic Sanctus Augustinus dixit: licet unus sit in oriente, et alius in occidente, conglutinati charitate nunquam ad invicem separantur; et Salvator mundi: *in hoc cognoscent omnes, quia discipuli mei estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.* Ergo juxta Jacobum, qui dixit: *Oratio fidei*

* Epist. S. Bonif. p. 148.

† Presbyter Moguntin. ap. Pertz, vol. ii. p. 351.

‡ St. Liudgar, who saw Boniface in his old age, describes his appearance in his Life of Gregory bishop of Utrecht,—S. Bonifacius.... quem oculis meis ipse vidi candidum canitie et decrepitum senectute. Ap. Act. Sanct. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. iii. pars 2, p. 28.

§ Epist. S. Bonif. p. 268.

salvabit infirmum. Et post pauca: *orate pro invicem, ut salvemini.* Oremus pro invicem, ut salvemur: et pietas Domini, quæ nos in terra separavit, gaudentes in cœlorum culmine congreget.

In the year 754, having intrusted to Lul the completion of the church which he had recently begun at Fulda, Boniface descended the Rhine from Mentz, crossed the Zuider-zee, then called Aelmere,* and entered Friesland. His preaching was attended everywhere with success, and he made numerous converts, destroying the idols which they had previously worshipped, and building churches. He ordained a bishop in a town named Trehct, where he built a monastery, and then returned to Germany. Boniface went again to Friesland in 755, taking with him a numerous company of priests and other assistants. In the course of their wanderings they came to the banks of the river Bordne (the Bordau) on the border of the modern districts of Ooster-go and Wester-go,† where they encamped for the night, the following day being appointed for the baptism of a great number of converts who were to assemble at that spot. The day fixed for this ceremony was the fifth of June. As the hour appointed drew near, a large party of pagan warriors, whose cupidity had been excited by the hope of rich plunder, made their appearance, and brandished their weapons fiercely as they approached. A few armed attendants, who were with the archbishop, issued from the little encampment to meet them; but Boniface, when he heard the tumult, came forth with his clergy, carrying in his hands the relics of the saints; and, calling off his men, he exhorted his presbyters and deacons to resign themselves patiently to the fate which awaited them. At the same

* Stagnum quod lingua eorum dicitur Aelmere. Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 349.

† Flumen Bordne, quod est in confinibus eorum qui rustica dicuntur lingua Ostor- et Wester-aêche. Willibald, ib.

instant the pagans rushed upon them, and few of the missionaries escaped from their swords. The assailants appear to have been divided into two distinct parties, perhaps the inhabitants of two different towns, and, after the slaughter of the Christians, they separated and fought for the spoils. In this encounter, a large portion of the Frieslanders were slain, and the rest, when they entered the tents, found little else but books and relics, and other things which in their eyes were equally worthless, and which they threw contemptuously into the river and among the reeds and shrubs. The Christians soon afterwards attacked and defeated the Frieslanders; they recovered most of the books and relics, and having carefully gathered together the bodies and limbs of the martyrs, they carried them to the newly-built church of Trehct. The body of Boniface was transferred thence by Archbishop Lul to Fulda, where he had frequently expressed a wish to be buried.* There it remained in peace during twenty-four years, till in 778 the monks of Fulda, flying before the inroads of the Saxons, took up the bones of their martyr and carried them away.† They were soon restored to their resting place; but although Lul had obtained from Pepin a royal edict forbidding them ever to be removed, they were afterwards transferred with great pomp to Mentz.‡ The spot where Boniface was slain remained hallowed in the memory of the converted Frieslanders; a fountain is said to have burst forth immediately after his death, and a monastery was subsequently erected over it.§

* Willibald, Vit. Bonif. pp. 349—351. Vita S. Sturmii, p. 283.

† Eo tempore monachi Fuldensis cœnobii propter timorem Saxonum, assumptis secum sancti Bonifacii ossibus, fugerunt de monasterio per milia passuum fere xiv. Annales Fuldenses, ap. Pertz, vol. i. p. 349. Conf. Vit. S. Sturm. p. 283.

‡ Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 352.

§ Willibald, Vit. Bonif. p. 353.

Boniface will ever be regarded as one of the most extraordinary men of an age which was remarkable for eminent personages. Within the space of little more than thirty years (if we count from the period when he entered upon his episcopal duties), by the moral influence of his own energy and zeal, he effected an entire change in the intellectual character of a large portion of Europe. His influence on European civilisation was felt for ages after his death, not only by the result of the reforms he had effected, but by the many schools and ecclesiastical establishments which he had founded at Fulda and elsewhere. The limited extent of his literary remains renders it difficult to form an accurate idea of the learning which he himself possessed; his Latin is equal to that of most of his contemporaries, and various parts of his correspondence show that he was not deficient in a taste for wit and the elegance of polite literature. A few playful verses scattered among his letters have been accepted as a sufficient claim to a place in the list of Latin poets.* He has, however, a more substantial title to this distinction in a short poem which has not hitherto been described among his extant works, although it appears to be alluded to by Bale.† This tract, called Ænigmata, a title then much in vogue, and which in the volume ‡ in which it is preserved follows the Ænigmata of Symposius, commences with the following lines to his sister,—

Aurea nam decem transmisi poma sorori,
Quæ in ligno vitæ crescebant floribus almis.

* See Leyser, Hist. Poet. Med. Æv. p. 209.

† There can be little doubt that it is the work to which Bale and Pits allude under the title, De virtutibus et vitiis, carmine, lib. i.; though they were mistaken in supposing it included the vices.

‡ MS. Reg. 15 B. XIX. fol. 204, r° (in the British Museum), written in the ninth or early in the tenth century. The title, in the manuscript, is, Incipiunt Enigmata Bonefatii Episcopi quæ misit sorori suæ.

The Ænigmata of Boniface are mere personifications of the moral virtues; that of Mercy may be given as a specimen:—

Misericordia ait.

Moribus en geminæ variis et jure sorores
Instamus domini cunctis in callibus una.
Sed soror in tenebras mortales mergeret atras,
Et pœnas Erebi lustrent per devia Ditis.
Regmina si seculi tenuisset sola per orbem,
Illius adversas vires infrangere nitor,
Clamans atque, "soror," dicens, "carissima, parce."
O genus est superum felix me virgine nancta,
Regmine nempe meo perdono piacula terris,
Do vitæ tempus superis, do lumen Olympi,
Ingentem mundi variis cum floribus arvum,
Aurea gens hominum scandat quod culmine cœli.
Ast tamen Altithroni non sacris sinibus absum,
Impetrans miseris veniam mortalibus ævi,
Trahendo jugiter Christi per sæcla ministra.

The only known copy of this poem is unfortunately imperfect at the end; but as it appears by the first line that it contained ten ænigmata, each forming one chapter, and as nine are in the part preserved (Faith, Hope, Justice, Truth, Mercy, Patience, Peace, Humility, Virginity), we are justified in supposing that not more than a page of the manuscript is lost.

The Letters of Boniface, which are valuable as memorials of the time, and as containing interesting illustrations of history, were first published by the Jesuit Nicholaus Serarius, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, and have since passed through several editions. Mixed with them, are many letters of other persons. The whole number in the edition of 1789 is a hundred and six. Fifteen Latin Sermons of Boniface were published by Dom Martene, from a manuscript in the library of M. D'Aguesseau. They are brief discourses on some of the most popular parts of the Christian doctrines, written in

a simple exhortatory style.* D'Achery published in his Spicilegium a series of statutes which pass under the name of Boniface. There can be little doubt that he wrote some other works, which are now lost. The book on his labours in Germany, and the account of the districts over which he had travelled, which it is pretended that he sent to the pope, with several of the titles given in Bale, are evidently mistaken deductions from the subjects of one or two of his letters.†

Editions of Boniface.

Epistolæ S. Bonifacii Martyris, primi Moguntini Archiepiscopi, Germanorum Apostoli: pluriumque Pontificum, Regum, et aliorum, nunc primum e Cæsareæ Maiestatis Viennensi Bibliotheca luce notisque donatæ per Nicolaum Serarium, Soc. Jes. Presbyt. 4to. Mogunt. 1629.

The Epistles were reprinted from the edition of Serarius in the Bibl. Mag. Patrum, fol. Paris, tom. ii.; in the Bibl. Max. Patrum, Paris, 1677, tom. iii.; in the Biblioth. Patrum, Colon., fol. tom. viii. Suppl.; and in the Bibl. Patrum, Lugd., fol. tom. xiii.

Usher, Veterum Epistolarum Sylloge. 4to. Dubl. 1632, pp. 44—50. 4to. Herbornæ Nassov. 1696. pp. 42—48. Three Letters between Boniface and the pope relating to Aldebert, Clemens, and Virgil.

D'Achery, Spicilegium sive Collectio Veterum aliquot Scriptorum qui in Galliæ Bibliothecis delituerant: 13 vol. fol. Paris, 1653—1677. vol. ix. pp. 63—67.—Nova edit. tom. i. Paris, 1723. pp. 507—509. Statuta quædam S. Bonifacii Archiepiscopi Maguntini et Martyris.

Martene and Durand, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicorum, Dogmaticorum, Moralium, Amplissima Collectio. Tomus ix. fol. Paris, 1733. Coll. 185—218. Bonifacii Sermones.

Epistolæ S. Bonifacii Archiepiscopi Magontini et Martyris Ordine Chronologico dispositæ, Notis et Variantibus inlustratæ a Stephano Alexand. Würdtwein Episcopo Heliopolensi, Suffraganeo Wormatiensi, etc. etc. fol. Magont. 1789. The editor used a very early MS. preserved at Mentz, in addition to what had been done by Serarius.

* A detailed analysis of the epistles and sermons of Boniface is given in the Hist. Lit. de France, vol. iv. pp. 96—115.

† See further, on the works of Boniface supposed to be lost, the Hist. Lit. de France, tom. iv. p. 116.

WILLIBALD.*

Willibald, who is said to have been the kinsman of Boniface,† was like him a native of the kingdom of Wessex, probably of Hampshire. He is supposed to have been born about the year 700, or soon afterwards, and having with difficulty lived through his third year in a state of great feebleness, his parents, despairing of his life, carried him to a neighbouring monastery, and there dedicated him to the service of Christ. From this time he improved in health and strength, and when he was five years of age, his father, in fulfilment of his vow, placed him in a monastery at Waltheim (perhaps Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire), under the care of abbot Egilwalt.‡ He there made great progress in learning, and was beloved for his virtues. As he grew up to boyhood, the desire of travelling into foreign lands became his passion; and, to indulge in some degree the propensity of his son, while he was still very young, his father sold his possessions, and went with his family (consisting of another son named Wunibald and a daughter named Walpurgis) and a number of friends, to settle at Rome.§ They left England towards the

* The life of Willibald was written before his death, by a nun of Heidenheim, of whose name we are ignorant, but who was his kinswoman, and took the account of his travels from his own recital. This life is printed in the Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iii. part 2. It became afterwards the foundation of various other lives, several of which have been printed by Canisius, Mabillon, Gretzer (De Eistetensibus Episcopis), &c. but which contain few or no new facts. The same lady wrote the life of his brother Wunibald.

It may be observed that the name Willibald, in Anglo-Saxon, signifies *bold of will.*

† Hist. Lit. de France, tom. iv. p. 167.

‡ In different manuscripts this name is written Egbalt, Egwalt, Egilwalt, Egilward.

§ Vit. Willib. pp. 368—370. Compare the Lives of Wunibald and Walpurgis, in Mabillon. Wunibald, who was without doubt the elder brother, was twenty years of age when they left England. Vit. Wunib. ap. Mab. p. 178.

beginning of summer, probably in the year 718, and, having taken a ship at a place on the southern coast named Hamelea-Mouth, (at the mouth of the river Hamble which passes Bishop's Waltham,) near a port town called Hambich or Hamwich (Southampton),* after a prosperous passage they entered the river Seine, and landed at Rouen, where they remained some days. They then proceeded slowly through France, and arrived at Lucca, where Willibald's father, to whom some of the monkish writers give the name of Richard,† fell sick and died. After having buried their parent honourably in that city, and perhaps leaving part of their company there, the two brothers continued their journey on foot, and, by a long and circuitous route, crossing the Alps, they reached Rome in safety.‡ But, soon after their arrival, they were attacked by a violent fever, under which they languished long, and from the effects of which they escaped with difficulty. After their recovery, Willibald determined to continue his travels, and to visit the Holy Land.

* Quæ prisco dicebatur vocabulo Hamelea-mutha, juxta illud mercimonium quod dicitur Hambich. Vit. Willib. p. 371. Hambich is probably a misreading of the scribe or copyist for Hamwich.

† See the early Anon. Vit. reprinted from Canisius in Mabillon, loc. cit. p. 383. It appears that his tomb was preserved at Lucca, and the clergy of that place in after times placed on it a Latin epitaph, in which they so far improved upon the older story as to call him King of England. It is thus printed in the edition of Boniface by Würdtwein, 1789, p. 4.

> Hic rex Richardus requiescit sceptrifer almus.
> Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet ipse polorum,
> Regnum dimisit, pro Christo cuncta reliquit.
> Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.
> Hic genitor sanctæ Walburgæ virginis almæ,
> Et Willibaldi sancti simul et Winibaldi:
> Suffragium quorum det nobis regna polorum. Amen.

‡ Confestimque illi pergentes, usquedum per vastas Italiæ tellures perniciter per concava vallium, per abrupta montium, per plana campestrium, ad arduas Alpium arces, pedestrem scandendo gressum dirigebant in altum. Vit. Willib. p. 371.

It was probably about the end of April, 721, when, having separated himself from his brother and joined two persons who were desirous of performing the same pilgrimage, Willibald left Rome and visited successively the towns of Daterinum (probably Terracina), Cajeta, and Nebule (perhaps Evoli). At the latter place he waited a fortnight before a ship bound for Egypt arrived upon the coast, and then, having embarked with his companions, they proceeded to Rhegia in Calabria (Reggio), from whence they crossed over to Catania in Sicily (urbs Cathinensis). During a stay of three weeks in this city, the travellers had an opportunity of visiting Mount Etna. Catania was the burial-place of St. Agatha; and at the time Willibald visited it, the citizens were accustomed, when threatened by the eruptions of the volcano, to spread out the veil of their saint towards the flaming mountain, "which then ceased."* At the end of three weeks they left Sicily, and, after touching at Samos, proceeded to Ephesus, where they visited the cave of the Seven Sleepers, whose legend was even then spread over all Christian Europe. From Ephesus they went by the towns of Figila or Sigila, Strobole, Patara, and Militena, (one only of which names can be easily identified,) to the island of Cyprus, at that time the limit between the dominions of the Saracens and the Greeks.† They passed the first week of the year 722 at Paphos,‡ and then removed to a town named Constantia, where they remained till the nativity of John the Baptist (June 24).

About the end of June the travellers crossed the sea to Tharratas (Tortosa),§ where they entered the jurisdiction

* Vit. Willib. p. 372.

† Quæ est inter Græcos et Sarracenos. Vit. Willib. p. 373.

‡ Et ibi fuerunt hebdomadam post anni circulum. ib.

§ In urbem Tharratas secus mare. Vit. Willib. ib.

of the Saracens; and they walked ten or twelve miles, without meeting with any obstruction, to a fortified place named Archæ, or Arahe, which was the see of a Greek bishop.* They performed also on foot the twelve miles between this place and Emessa; where they were seized by the Saracens and carried before the Amir-al-múmenín,† (the khalif Yézid); they were only liberated at the intercession of a Spaniard who held a place of honour in the khalif's household.‡

As soon as Willibald had escaped from this danger, he quitted Emessa, and went to Damascus, where he remained a week, and he was shown at a distance of two miles from the city the spot where Paul had been struck down and converted. From Damascus he turned his steps to Palestine, and, after visiting the scene of the salutation of the Virgin by the angel Gabriel, he arrived at Nazareth, the church of which, as he was informed, had been repeatedly saved from destruction by paying a ransom to the Saracens. He next visited Cana, where our Saviour changed

* Ad castellum quod dicitur Archæ (al. Arahe), ubi fuit episcopus de gente Græcorum. p. 373.

† Or emir of the faithful. Willibald, who did not understand the language, transformed the title of the khalif into the name of a king, whom his biographer calls *Mirmumni*. In a similar manner the old Spanish and English historians turned the same title into the name Miramomelin.

‡ There can be little doubt that Willibald arrived in Syria early in the khalifate of Yézid II. The profound peace between the Greeks and Arabs during the tranquil khalifate of his predecessor Omar continued during that of Yézid, and is evidently alluded to by the nun who wrote down Willibald's narrative of his travels, and who says of the Greeks in the isle of Cyprus, illi Cipri sedebant inter Græcos et Sarracenos, et inermes fuerunt; quia pax maxima fuit et conciliatio inter Sarracenos et Græcos. After the death of Yézid, hostilities were renewed, and continued during many years. Willibald was probably arrested, because he had no safe-conduct. It was, however, about this time that there were some quarrels between the Christians and Arabs at Damascus concerning the churches of the former. The presence of a Spaniard at the court of Yézid is remarkable; he may have been a renegade. The Saracens of the West were at this time busily employed in conquering Spain from the Goths.

the water into wine, and where he found a large church, in which was shown one of the six vessels used on that occasion. Willibald remained there one day, and then visited the monastery of Mount Tabor and the scene of the Transfiguration. He afterwards spent some days at Tiberias, where he found many churches and a synagogue of Jews; he then visited Magdala, Capernaum, and Bethsaida, at which last-mentioned town was a church of which the ruins still remain, and, having past the night there, he proceeded in the morning to Chorazin, where was also a church. He next visited the head of the Jordan, and passed a night in company with the shepherds between the two sources of the river: they gave him the whey of ewes' milk to drink, and he observed that their sheep were of a remarkable kind, long-backed, with short legs, and great erect horns.* From this place he went to Cesarea, where he found a church and a multitude of Christians. Willibald's next journey was to the monastery of St. John in the desert of Quarantania, which was inhabited by twenty monks. He slept one night in the monastery, and in the morning he walked to the part of the river Jordan where Christ was baptized, which is distant one mile from the monastery. Willibald found there a church, and other interesting objects; he remained there one day, bathed in the Jordan, and then passed rapidly by Galgala (where there was a church in which he was shown the twelve stones brought up by the children of Israel from the river, Joshua iv. 5—8), Jericho, and the monastery of St. Eustathius, to the holy city, the grand object of his long pilgrimage.†

* Et pastores dabant ovis acrum lac bibere, et ibi sunt armenta mirabilia, longo dorso, brevibus cruribus, magnis cornibus erectis; omnes sunt unius coloris. Vita Willib. p. 375.

† Vita Willib. pp. 374—376.

Willibald arrived at Jerusalem on the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 12); but he was immediately afterwards attacked by a serious indisposition, by which he was confined to his bed till the week before Christmas, when he offered up thanks for his recovery in the church of Zion. He went from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, visiting on his way a church in the valley of Jehosaphat, and another on the Mount of Olives; and he was also shown the spot where the angel appeared to the shepherds, to announce the birth of the Redeemer. At Bethlehem the pilgrims saw the house in which Christ was born, and thence they went to a large town named Thegua, then pointed out as the particular scene of the slaughter of the innocents, and containing a church; the ruins of this town still bear the name of Tekoah, about six miles to the south of Bethlehem. Willibald next visited the great monastery of St. Saba, where he informs us that the monks dwelt in cells excavated in the rocks. Not far from St. Saba, he was shown the place where Philip baptized the eunuch, which was marked by a small church. He next visited Gaza, where he was attacked with blindness, under which he laboured two months. He returned from Gaza to Jerusalem by St. Zacharies (ad S. Zachariam prophetam) and the castle of Aframia, where he saw the burial-place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives. After remaining some time at Jerusalem, where he recovered his sight, Willibald proceeded by Diospolis, St. George, and a town with a church dedicated to St. Peter (who was said to have raised the widow Dorcas to life at that spot), to the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and thence over Mount Libanus to Damascus, whence he returned by Cæsarea to Jerusalem, where he passed the winter of 723-4. In the following spring the travellers went to Ptolemais, where

Willibald lay sick the whole of Lent,* while some of his companions were sent to the khalif for letters of protection; but not finding him they returned to Ptolemais, where they all remained till the week before Easter, and then they went to Emessa, to ask for letters of safe conduct from the governor of that place. These they obtained, but they were obliged to travel in separate parties of two each, on account of the difficulty of procuring food.† They went from Emessa to Damascus, and thence a fourth time to Jerusalem, where they remained some time, and afterwards continued their pilgrimage towards the sea coast. On the way they visited the well where our Saviour spoke with the woman of Samaria, over which a church had been built, slept one night at Sebaste, and passed over an extensive plain covered with olive trees, in company with a negro who had two camels and a mule, and who was conducting a lady through the forest; they here met with a lion, which however did them no injury.‡ From a place named Thalemarcha on the sea-coast they travelled on foot round the extreme promontory of Mount Libanus (Mount Carmel), and proceeded to Tyre, where they experienced considerable inconvenience from the unfriendly disposition of the inhabitants, who plundered them of the greater part of their goods, and where they were obliged to remain a long time before they found a ship bound for Constantinople. It is in the highest degree probable that

* Ibi fuit ille totum tempus Quadragesimæ: infirmus fuit, et non poterat pergere. Vit. Willibaldi, p. 377.

† Et dedit epistolam duobus et duobus; quia illi non poterant simul pergere, sed duo et duo, quia facilius sic potuerunt alimenta obtinere. Vit. Willib. p. 378.

‡ Et inde perrexerunt super campum magnum olivarum plenum, et pergebat cum illis unus Æthiops cum duobus camelis et uno mulo, qui ducebat unam mulierem per silvam. Cumque perrexissent, obviavit illis unus leo, qui aperto ore rugiens raucusque eos rapere ac devorare cupiens, valde minabatur illis. Vit. Willib. p. 378.

the difficulties Willibald and his companions experienced in obtaining a passport, and the troubles they met with in their departure from Syria, were coincident with the persecution of the Christian churches in that country in 724, when the Khalif Yezid II. at the end of his reign had been instigated by the Jews to publish an edict against the paintings in the churches of his Christian subjects, in consequence of which many of the latter fled from their homes. After the death of Yezid, hostilities recommenced between the Greeks and Arabs, and continued during many years, so that Willibald's departure from the Holy Land cannot be placed later than this date.*

Willibald sailed from Tyre on St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30, 724), and did not reach Constantinople till the week before Easter (the beginning of April, 725). After a residence of two years in that city, in the spring of the year 727 he returned to Sicily in company with the envoys of the Pope and the Cæsar, and visited Syracuse and Catania, from whence he crossed over to Reggio in Calabria, and proceeded by the isle of Vulcano (of which the writer of the narrative gives a curious account,) † Naples, and Capua, to Monte Casino, where he arrived in the autumn, after

* The above coincidence is of the more importance, as the accuracy of the dates of most of the occurrences of Willibald's life depends more or less upon it. The whole tenor of the narrative shows that the pilgrims quitted Syria on account of some sudden change in the internal state of the country, and that they were anxious to get away, for they came to Tyre at the wrong season of the year for making the voyage to Constantinople, and sailed in rough and dangerous weather.

† Ibi est infernus Theodorici. Vit. Willib. p. 379. In the legends of this period, the craters of volcanos were believed to be entries to hell. A hermit who resided on the isle of Lipari, told a friend of Pope Gregory the Great that he had seen the soul of the Gothic king Theuderic thrown into the crater of the isle of Vulcano: hesterno die hora nona inter Joannem papam et Symmachum patricium discinctus atque discalceatus et vinctis manibus deductus, in hanc vicinam Vulcani ollam jactatus est. Gregor. Magn. Dialog. lib. iv. c. 30. This is the origin of the name mentioned in the life of Willibald.

having been absent from Italy seven years, and ten years after his departure from England.*

Willibald was immediately received into the Benedictine monastery of Monte Casino. During the first year after his arrival he was constituted Cubicularius, chamberlain or treasurer; in the second year he exercised the office of Dean (decanus) of the monastery; and during the eight following years he acted as porter (portarius) of the two monasteries. After having been ten years an inmate of this celebrated monastic establishment, he accompanied a Spanish presbyter to Rome, where he arrived on the 30th of November (about 733). Willibald was received with marks of distinction by pope Gregory III., who listened with interest to the relation of his adventurous travels, and then informed him that his countryman Boniface, who probably thought that no man could be better fitted to contend with the difficulties of his situation than one who had continued during five years to brave the systematical hostility shown towards the Christians by the victorious Arabs, had sent for him to be his assistant in the conversion of the Germans. Willibald quitted Rome at Easter (739), passed through Lucca (where he visited the tomb of his father), Ticino, and Brescia, to a place named Charinta or Charta, and after spending a week with Duke Odilo and another with Suitgarius, he was conducted by the latter to Boniface, who entrusted to his charge a district in the wilderness at Eistet (Eichstadt), which had been given by Suitgarius to the Church. At this place Willibald was admitted to priest's orders by Boniface, on the twenty-second day of July. In the autumn of the year following (740) Boniface sent him into Thuringia, where he met his brother Wunebald,

* Et tunc erant septem anni, quod de Roma transire cœpit: et omnino erant decem anni, quod de patria sua transivit. Vit. Willib. p. 379.

whom he had not seen since he quitted him at Rome on his way to the East.* Shortly after his visit to Thuringia, at Saltzburg on the twenty-first of October, Willibald was consecrated bishop of Eichstadt, by Boniface, Burchard, and Wizo.† It is not quite certain whether this was in A. D. 740, or in 741,‡ but it appears that Willibald was then forty-one years of age.§

As bishop of Eichstadt, Willibald distinguished himself by his activity in the work of conversion, and in a short period he had spread the Catholic doctrines through the whole country of the Bajoarii. He built a monastery at Eichstadt, which was soon peopled by his numerous disciples.|| The date of his death is very uncertain. He was present at the German council in 742, and at that of Leptines in 743. In 777, he translated the body of his brother Wunebald, and he was subsequently present at the interment of his sister Walpurgis. His name appears so late as Oct. 8, 785, and it is supposed that he died in the year following at the great age of eighty-six.¶ According to the Roman Calendar, his death occurred on the 7th of July.

Willibald was long considered to be the same person as the author of the Life of St. Boniface, until Heinschenius,

* The nun who wrote his life, says this was ten years and a half. This would have been true if he had met him when, according to another account, they were both first invited together to join Boniface in Germany.

† Vit. Willibald. p. 381.

‡ The Hist. Lit. de France, iv. 167, places it in 741; but the life by the nun of Heidenheim says it took place immediately after the visit to Thuringia. The chronicles printed by Pertz must be wrong, when they place this event so low as 746 (Pertz, i. 346), and 747 (ib. p. 115).

§ Vit. Willib. p. 382.

|| Vit. Willib. p. 382.

¶ See Basnage, in Canisius, tom. ii. p. 103, and the Hist. Lit. de France, iv. 168. The writer of the anonymous Life of Willibald printed in Canisius (Ant. Lect. tom. iv. p. 122), says he died after he had held his bishopric seven years.

who edited that life in the Acta Sanctorum, showed from internal evidence of the most satisfactory kind that its author must be a different person. In fact the writer of the Life of Boniface describes himself as a simple presbyter, and mentions his namesake the bishop in terms which no one would use in speaking of himself. No other work extant bears Willibald's name, but it is more than probable that he composed a narrative of his wanderings in the East. The nun who wrote his life says that she heard him relate his adventures with his own mouth; yet the accuracy with which she speaks of dates and places, and one or two other circumstances of slight importance, seem to show that she was abridging from a written document. Fabricius speaks of the Epistles of Willibald as existing, but inedited.

WILLEHAD.

WILLEHAD (or Wilhead*) was a native of Northumbria, but we have no means of ascertaining with any degree of accuracy the date of his birth. He was perhaps educated at York, for we find that he was at a subsequent period the friend of Alcuin.† After he had attained to the degree of presbyter, which was not conferred till after the age of thirty years, he was induced, by the reports of the progress of the English Missionaries in Germany, to visit

* The name is thus spelt in a letter of Alcuin, quoted by Pertz, ii. 379. The life of Willehad was written by Anskarius, bishop of Bremen towards the middle of the ninth century. This life was printed separately at Cologne in 1642, in 8vo. It was inserted by Mabillon, in the Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iii. tom. 2; and in other publications. A much more correct and complete edition is given by Pertz, in the second volume of the Monument. German. Hist. This is the edition we quote. Adam of Bremen, in the account of Willehad given in his Eccl. Hist. follows the narrative of Anskarius.

† Alcuin's Letter, quoted in Pertz, ii. 379.

Friesland for the purpose of assisting in the conversion of the idolaters of that country. With the permission of Alchred, king of Northumbria (who reigned from 765 to 774), Willehad quitted his native land, and went direct to Dockum in Ostergo,* the scene of the martyrdom of Boniface, which was then occupied by a Christian congregation, to whom many of the Frisian nobles sent their children to be instructed. He was received there with warm testimonials of friendship, and by his preaching was instrumental in converting many of the pagans to Christianity. Leaving this place, he proceeded towards the East, and penetrated into the country which had not yet been visited by the light of the Gospel, crossing the river Loveka (the Lawers, on the borders of West Friesland), and entering the district of Groningen. At a place named Humarcha (supposed to be Hunsingo near Groningen, or its hamlet Marne), in the midst of his preaching, the idolaters, incensed at the freedom with which he spoke of their religion, rose against him and his companions, who only escaped a similar fate to that of Boniface by the intervention of the chieftains, who claimed the right of punishing them more judicially by the popular form of trial by lots. They escaped from this ordeal, as Wilbrord had done on a similar occasion, and Willehad proceeded to the district of Thrianta (Drente), where also he made numerous converts; but the too eager zeal of one of his disciples in destroying the idols of the country, brought the missionaries into new troubles; the pagans again rose against them, and it was not without difficulty that they escaped from Friesland, and found shelter at the court of Charlemagne.†

* Locus qui dicitur Dockynchirica, quod est in pago Hostraga. Anskarii Vit. Will. p. 380.

† Anskar. Vit. Will. p. 381.

Charlemagne had in this year (779) completed the subjection of the Saxons, and he sent Willehad to preach to the people on the borders of Friesland and Saxony, in a district named Wigmodia* (the neighbourhood of Bremen). Here Willehad laboured with success; he built churches, ordained presbyters, and made so many converts, that after two years hardly an idolater could be found in the whole district. But in 782 his progress was stopped by the great rebellion of Wituchind, who persecuted the Christians during several years with savage hatred. Willehad fled to the district of Ut-Riustri on the sea coast (the neighbourhood of Embden), and hastily embarking in a ship which happened to be there, he sailed round Friesland and escaped to France. Most of his companions and disciples were massacred, and Frieslanders as well as Saxons relapsed into their former idolatry. From France Willehad went to the court of Pepin king of the Lombards, and thence to Rome, where he was received by pope Adrian I., who condoled with him on the misfortunes of the church in Saxony, and then sent him back to France. He there took up his residence in Wilbrord's monastery at Epternach, where he was joined by many of his disciples who had escaped Wituchind's persecution, and where he occupied himself in reading and writing.†

After remaining two years at Epternach, Willehad again visited the court of Charlemagne, who was residing at the castle of Eresburg,‡ and who gave him as a benefice the

* Ad pagum qui dicitur Wigmódia. Anskar. ib.

† Namque scripsit ibi epistolas beati Pauli in uno volumine, aliaque quam plurima, quæ a successoribus ipsius ob monimentum sanctæ recordationis ejus servata, hactenus manent inconvulsa. Anskar. p. 382.

‡ Qui tunc forte in castello consederat Saxoniæ Eresburch. Anskar. Vit. Will. p. 382. Charlemagne passed the winter of 784 at Eresburg. Eginhard. Annal. p. 192.

cell of Mont Jutin, in Upper Burgundy.* According to Charlemagne's desire, Willehad now returned to his diocese of Wigmodia, where he ordained new presbyters, and restored the churches which had been destroyed by the barbarians; and in less than a year the Saxons were brought again to the profession of Christianity, partly influenced by the zealous preaching of their pastor, and partly determined by the example of their leader, for this same year (A.D. 785) Wituchind sealed his dependence on Charlemagne by submitting to the rite of baptism.†

In 786, Charlemagne went to Rome, and on his return thence in the following year he held the general assembly of his people at Worms. On this occasion (July 13, 787) Willehad was consecrated to the episcopal dignity, and Charlemagne gave him the whole district of Wigmodia as his diocese. Two years afterwards the new bishop built a church "of wonderful beauty" at Bremen; which he dedicated to St. Peter on the first of November, 789,‡ and which from that period became the episcopal see. The ceremony of dedication was no sooner ended, than the bishop, who had set out to make a visitation of his diocese, was struck with sudden illness at Pleccateshem (Blexem, near Bremen), where he died on the 8th of November, 789, after he had held the bishopric only two years three months and twenty-six days.§ His body was carried to Bremen, and buried in the church which he had built.

Willehad was the author of several works, some of

* Dedit ei in beneficium quandam cellam in Francia quæ appellatur Iustîna. Anskar. ib.

† Anskar. Vit. Will. p. 383.

‡ Ædificavit quoque domum Dei miræ pulchritudinis in loco qui dicitur Brema; ubi et sedem esse constituit episcopalem; ac dedicavit eam kalendis Novembris. Anskar. ib.

§ Anskar. p. 384. A Chronicle of Saxony, quoted by Mabillon, in Act. Sanct. Ord. S. Bened. Sec. iii. tom. 2, p. 402, places Willehad's death in 790.

which are still preserved in MSS. in the libraries of the continent, but they are very little known. We believe that his commentary on the epistles of St. Paul has been printed in some one of the collections of the Medieval ecclesiastical writers, but we have not been able to ascertain in which of them.

ALCUIN.

The last of the distinguished Anglo-Saxons, whose name shed lustre on the empire of the Frankish monarchs in the eighth century, was Alcuin.* Born at York, about the year 735,† of a noble family, Alcuin was scarcely weaned from his mother's breast when he was dedicated to the church, and entrusted to the care of the inmates of the monastery; ‡ and on reaching the proper age he was placed in the school of archbishop Egbert, then celebrated for the number of noble youths who crowded thither to imbibe instruction from the lips of that prelate.§ Alcuin

* There is only one early life of Alcuin, which is anonymous, and was written in 829, by a person who obtained much of his information from Sigulf, Alcuin's friend and disciple: it is printed in the editions of Alcuin's works, in the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. of Mabillon, in the collection of Surius, and in the Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists. The richest source of information relating to his history is his Epistles. Much has been written concerning Alcuin in modern times; a sketch of his life is given by Mabillon; a more extensive life was composed in Latin by the prince-abbot Frobenius, and prefixed to his edition of his works. More recently Alcuin's Life has been published by Dr. Friederick Lorenz, professor of history at the University of Halle (1829), translated into English by Jane Mary Slee (sm. 8vo. London, 1837).

† Lorenz, Life of Alcuin, p. 8.

‡ Anon. Vit. Alc. cap. 1.

§ Erat siquidem ei ex nobilium filiis grex scholasticorum, quorum quidam artis grammaticæ rudimentis, alii disciplinis erudiebantur artium jam liberalium, nonnulli divinarum scripturarum, post istas manibus confricatas patris, pectus in suum hordeaceas quinas, triticeasque septenas trajiciebant, una gemino cum pisce, spicas. Anon. Vit. Alc. cap. 2.

was distinguished above his fellows by his application to the study of the sciences, which were taught by Egbert's kinsman Aelbert, who succeeded him in 766 in the see of York, and in the management of the school. Alcuin was Aelbert's favourite pupil; when about twenty years of age he was chosen to accompany him on a visit to the continent in search of books and of new discoveries in science, and on that occasion he resided a short time at Rome.* Immediately after Aelbert's accession to the archiepiscopal see, he ordained Alcuin a deacon, appointed him to fill the place which he had himself occupied in the school, and gave him the care of the extensive library attached to it. Under Alcuin's superintendence the school increased in reputation, and many foreigners came to partake of the advantages derived from his teaching. Archbishop Aelbert died on the eighth of November 780,† and was succeeded by Eanbald, one of Alcuin's pupils, who in the following year sent his instructor to Rome to obtain for him the pallium at the hands of pope Adrian I. On his return Alcuin visited Parma, and there met with Charlemagne, who had also been at Rome. That monarch was then meditating the foundation of scholastic institutions throughout his dominions, and being well informed of Alcuin's great reputation for learning, if not already personally acquainted with him, he invited him to settle in France, and to become his adviser and assistant in his projects of reform. Alcuin readily complied with the king's desires; but he continued his journey home to fulfil his original commission, and to obtain the consent of the archbishop of York and the king of Northumbria (Alfwold) to the pro-

* Lorenz, pp. 9, 10.

† Anon. Vit. Alc. cap. 5.

posed arrangement. With the approbation of his spiritual and temporal superiors, having chosen some of his own pupils as companions, he returned to France in the year 782.*

The position of Alcuin at the court of Charlemagne during his first residence in France has been compared and contrasted with that of Voltaire and other learned foreigners who were patronized by Frederick the Great.† Without holding any actual employment, he lived as the friend and counsellor of the Frankish monarch, was the companion of his private hours, which were spent in discussing questions of theology and science, and acted as the instructor of his children. Two monasteries, those of Ferrières in the Orléanois, and St. Lupus at Troyes,‡ were assigned to him to support his private expenses. We have few notices of the events of his life at this period; it was one of constant war and tumult, and we are astonished that amid his numerous hostile expeditions the busy warrior could find leisure to attend to the intellectual welfare of his people. Yet it was during this period, that Charlemagne conceived and carried into execution his projects of national instruction, which exercised so great an influence on the civilization of succeeding ages. It is probable that Alcuin attended Charlemagne in many of his expeditions; he lost no opportunity of making his influence with the king subservient to the interests of his native country; and after remaining about eight years in France, he resolved to return to York. Charlemagne begged him to come back speedily and make the court of France his lasting home; a request to which Alcuin was willing to consent, if he could make it consistent with his duties to his native

* Lorenz, pp. 12—14.

† Lorenz, Life of Alcuin, p. 60.

‡ Anon. Vit. Alc. cap. 6.

country: "Although," he said, "I possess no small inheritance in my own country, I will willingly resign it, and in poverty serve thee, and remain with thee; let it be thy care to obtain the permission of my king and my bishop."*

Alcuin came to England in the year 790, as ambassador from Charlemagne to king Offa, to arrange some misunderstanding which had arisen between these two great monarchs, and it appears to have been his intention to return the same year. But he found the kingdom of Northumbria involved in troubles; and in a letter written at this period he laments that he should not be able to return to France at the time he expected.† It was not indeed till the year 792 that, pressed by the letters of Charlemagne, who desired his assistance in repressing an heresy which threatened to cause a division in the Frankish church, with the permission of bishop Eanbald and king Ethelred, Alcuin left England for the last time. He took with him a number of English ecclesiastics, who were afterwards present at the council held in 794 at Frankfort on the Maine, where the doctrinal innovations of the Spanish bishops, who taught that Christ was the son of God by adoption, were condemned. The originators and chief supporters of these doctrines were Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo, against whom Alcuin wrote several controversial treatises, and the former of whom he had the satisfaction of inducing to abjure his errors.

From 792 to 796, Alcuin continued to reside at the court of Charlemagne, in the same relation to his patron as before his visit to England. His position was rendered agreeable not only by the favour of the royal family, but by the society of a circle of learned friends; yet his happiness was frequently interrupted by grief at the

* Lorenz, p. 62.

† Novitas regni nostri me retinet adhuc in isto anno. Alcuin. Epist. p. 5.

troubles with which his native country was visited. In 793, the barbarians from the North devastated the island of Lindisfarne, profaned its monastery, and murdered many of the monks. This calamity, which Alcuin made the subject of one of the best of his poems, is alluded to in several of his letters, and appears to have made a deep impression on his mind. It served him as the occasion for earnest exhortations to his countrymen, in which he urged them to reform the corruptions which had crept in amongst them. Alcuin's letter to the monks who had escaped from the massacre,* will serve as a specimen of his epistolary style.

Beatissimi Patris sancti scilicet Cudberchti Episcopi optimis in Christo filiis Hugibaldo Episcopo omni Congregationi Lindisfarnensis Ecclesiæ, Alchuinus Diaconus, cœlesti in Christo benedictione salutem.

Vestræ vero caritatis familiaritas præsentem multum me lætificare solebat: sed versa vice vestræ tribulationis calamitas, licet absentem, multum me quotidie contristat. Quomodo pagani contaminaverunt sanctuaria Dei, et fuderunt sanguinem sanctorum in circuitu altaris. Vastaverunt domum spei nostræ, calcaverunt corpora sanctorum in templo Dei quasi sterquilinium in platea. Quid nobis dicendum est, nisi plangendum animo vobiscum ante altare Christi, et dicere: Parce Domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hæreditatem gentibus, ne dicant pagani, ubi est Deus Christianorum? Quæ est fiducia Ecclesiis Britanniæ, si Sanctus Cudberctus suam non defendit cum tanto sanctorum numero? Aut hoc majoris initium est doloris, aut peccata habitantium hoc exegerunt. Non enim quiddam casu contingit, sed magni cuilibet meriti judicium est. Sed modo, qui residui estis, state viriliter, pugnate fortiter, defendite castra Dei. Mementote Judam Machabeum, quia templum Dei purgavit, et populum eruit, ut eliberavit extranea. Si quid corrigendum sit in moribus mansuetudinis vestræ, citius corrigite. Patronos vestros ad vos revocate, qui vos ad tempus dereliquerunt. Non defuit illis potestas apud Dei clementiam; sed nescimus, cui tacuerunt. Nolite gloriari in vanitate vestium; hæc non est gloria sacerdotum et servorum Dei, sed contumelia. Nolite in ebrietate verba orationum vestrarum delere. Non exeatis post luxurias carnis et avaritias seculi; sed in servitio Dei et regularis vitæ disciplina firmiter permanete, ut sanctissimi patres, qui vos genuerunt, vobis protectores esse non cessent. Per illorum vestigia gradientes de illorum precibus securi permaneatis. Nolite tantis patribus degeneres esse filii. Nequaquam illi a vestra cessabunt defensione, si vos

* Epist. viii. Opera, tom. i. vol. i. p. 11.

illorum sequi videbunt exempla. Tamen de ista miseria nolite mente consternari. Castigat Deus omnem filium, quem recipit; et ideo forte plus vos castigavit, quia plus dilexit. Hierusalem civitas Deo dilecta Chaldea flamma periit. Roma Sanctorum Apostolorum et innumerabilium Martyrum corona circumdata paganorum vastatione disrupta est, sed pietate citius recuperata. Tota pene Europa Gothorum vel Hunorum gladiis evacuata est flammis; sed modo, conservante Deo, velut cœlum stellis, ita Ecclesiis ornata fulgescit, et in eis officia vigent et crescunt religionis christianæ. Hortamini vosmetipsos invicem dicentes: Revertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum, quia magnus est ad ignoscendum, et nunquam deserit sperantes in se.

Et tu, Pater sancte, Dux populi Dei, Pastor gregis sancti, medicus animarum, lucerna super candelabrum posita, esto forma in omni bonitate cunctis te videntibus. Esto præco salutis cunctis te audientibus. Sit tuus comitatus honestis moribus, aliis exemplum ad vitam, non ad perditionem. Sint tibi epulæ, non in ebrietate, sed in sobrietate. Sint vestimenta tuo gradui condigna. Noli te conformare seculi hominibus in vanitate aliqua. Inanis ornatus vestimentorum, et cultus inutilis tibi est obprobrium ante homines, et peccatum ante Deum. Melius est animam in perpetuum permanentem bonis ornare moribus, quam corpus cito in pulvere putrescens exquisitis comere vestibus. Vestiatur et satietur Christus in paupere, ut hæc faciens regnet cum Christo. Redemptio viri propriæ divitiæ. Si aurum diligamus, præmittamus nobis in cœlum, ubi servabitur nobis, et quod amemus, habemus. Amemus æterna, et non peritura. Veras diligamus divitias, et non caducas; sempiternas non transitorias. Paremus nobis laudem a Deo, et non ab hominibus. Faciamus, quod fecerunt sancti, quos laudamus. Sequamur illorum vestigia in terris, ut illorum gloriæ consortes esse mereamur in cœlis. Divinæ pietatis protectio nos ab omni adversitate custodiat, et in cœlestis regni gloria cum patribus vestris constituat, carissimi fratres. Valete in Christo dilectissimi, et comfortamini semper proficientes.

During the years which preceded A.D. 796, Charlemagne had been occupied in wars against the Saxons and Huns, and in that year, having reduced both those people to his obedience, his mind was occupied with the means of spreading Christianity among the latter people. He consulted Alcuin, who in an interesting letter congratulates him on his conquests, and advises him to proceed with mildness rather than harshness in the work of conversion. Alcuin's liberality of sentiment is remarkably conspicuous in this letter; he recommends the king in the first place to select with care the preachers who were to be sent among the barbarians, and to avoid burthening

the converts by the imposition of heavy rates for the support of the church. With this view, he warns him strongly against the immediate exaction of tythes: he entreats him to consider, that a tax which the established Christians reluctantly consented to pay, would naturally alienate the minds of new converts from a doctrine which they saw to be oppressive even at its announcement.* The passage of the letter in which this subject is treated merits to be extracted in the original language:—

Hoc enim totius mundi prædicator, Christo in se loquente, significavit, ut nova populorum ad fidem conversio mollioribus præceptis quasi infantilis ætas lacte esset nutrienda: ne per austeriora præcepta fragilis mens evomat quod bibit. Unde et ipse Dominus Christus in Evangelio respondit interrogantibus se quare discipuli illius non jejunarent, dicens: *Nemo mittit vinum novum in utres veteres; alioquin utres rumpuntur et vinum effundetur et utres peribunt.* Alia est enim, ut beatus Hieronymus dicit, puritas virginalis animæ et nulla prioris vitii contagione polluta: et alia, quæ sordibus et multorum libidini subjacuerit.

His ita consideratis, vestra sanctissima pietas sapienti consilio prævideat, si melius sit, rudibus populis in principio fidei jugum imponere decimarum, ut plena fiat per singulas domus exactio illorum: an Apostoli quoque ab ipso Deo Christo edocti et ad prædicandum mundo missi exactiones decimarum exegissent, vel alicubi demandassent dari, considerandum est. Scimus quia decimatio substantiæ nostræ valde bona est. Sed melius est illam amittere, quam fidem perdere. Nos vero in fide catholica nati, nutriti, et edocti, vix consentimus substantiam nostram pleniter decimare. Quanto magis tenera fides et infantilis animus et avara mens illarum largitati non consentit? Roborata vero fide, et confirmata consuetudine Christianitatis, tunc quasi viris perfectis fortiora danda sunt præcepta, quæ solidata mens religione Christiana non abhorreat.

The correspondence of Alcuin during the year 796 is unusually interesting, and exhibits his intelligent mind in every different light. Among the scholars at the court of Charlemagne it was a custom, not unknown in other times, of taking literary names and surnames. In this

* Alcuin. Epist. p. 37. Similar sentiments are expressed in another letter written about the same time to the chamberlain Meginfred, one of Charlemagne's favourite generals, Epist. p. 50. Cf. Lorenz, pp. 40, 41.

learned nomenclature Alcuin himself took the name of Flaccus Albinus, which in after ages was frequently appended to his writings; the common name given to Charlemagne was David; among Alcuin's more intimate friends, Riculf, archbishop of Mentz, was addressed by the name of Damoetas; the name of Arno was changed into Aquila, and to Angilbert was given the name of Homerus. Early in 796 Angilbert was sent by the king on a mission to Rome; and after his departure Alcuin addressed to him the following letter, a fair example of his more playful style of writing.*

Ad dulcissimum filium Homerum.
Dulcissimo filio vir fluctivagus salutem.

Te abeunte tentavi sæpius ad portum stabilitatis venire; sed Rector rerum et Dispensator animarum necdum concessit posse, quod olim fecit velle. Adhuc ex radice cordis nascentes cogitationum ramusculos ventus tentationum flagellat, ut consolationis flores et refectionis fructus nutriri nequiverint. Tota nocte laborantes nihil cepimus, quia necdum in littore Jesus stetit, præcipiens in dexteram navigii rete mitti.

Patrocinia Sanctorum non obliviscere. Res ecclesiasticæ pulchritudinis oculis occurrentes noli negligere ut acquiras. Nostra rusticitas avara est de talibus: vestra nobilitas larga est de omnibus. Memor esto poetici præsagii:

Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.

Hoc de te, tuoque itinere prophetatum esse, quis dubitat? Si Christum Sibilla, ejusque labores prædixit venturum, cur non Naso Homerum ejusque itinera præcecinit? Paululum propter refectionem animi rhetorica lusi lepiditate.

Sed ut iterum ad seriem rugosa fronte revertar, te vero unanimem deposcens amicum, te custodem animi obsecrans, ut consilium salutis animarum nostrarum, cum suffragiis SS. Apostolorum a Deo depreceris. Nam nos ambos, ut recognosco, quædam necessitatis catena constringit, et libero cursu voluntatis castra intrare non permittit: nec est qui compedes rumpere valeat, nisi qui inferni ferrea claustra contrivit: qui est via et veritas et vita. Via pergentibus per illum: veritas venientibus ad illum: vita manentibus in illo. Quid habeo plus scribere, quia omnia necessaria nosti? Juxta opportunitatem portantis semper dirige mihi litteras, ut sciam de prosperitate tua et itinere tuo, quando vel quo venias miserante Deo.

* Alcuin, Epist. p. 31.

Prospera cuncta, precor, faciat tibi Christus, Homere!
Qui te conservet semper, ubique, vale!

Soon after this, writing to his friend Arno on the uncertainty of his own movements, he says, "nos vero velut æstiva hirundo ad Palatium mense Julio properamus. Nescio de nostro itinere, quid erit futurum, sive circa Mosanas ripas liceat nobis sicut mergulos pisces captare, an Aligerensem fluvium revertere, et ibi salmones natando colligere." * And a little later, when he was with the king in Saxony, and Damoetas (Riculf) had sent him a present of a comb, then a valuable article, he acknowledges its receipt in the same playful strain,†—

De vestra valde gaudeo prosperitate, et de munere caritatis vestræ multum gavisus sum, tot agens gratias, quot dentes in dono numeravi. Nimirum animal, duo habens capita et dentes lx. non elephantinæ magnitudinis, sed eburneæ pulchritudinis. Nec ego hujus bestiæ territus horrore, sed delectatus aspectu. Nec me frendentibus illa morderet dentibus timui, sed blanda adulatione capitis mei placare capillos adrisi. Nec ferocitatem in dentibus intellexi, sed caritatem in mittente dilexi, quam semper fideliter in illo probavi. Sed quantum gaudeo in amoris dulcedine, tantum doleo in absentiæ longinquitate. Noluissem tanto tempore ab invicem separari, quos ejusdem caritatis dulcissima colligant vincula. Quid faciam, nisi lacrymis sequar amicum, donec reveniat, quem animus optat habere præsentem?

With the characteristic love of enigmatical compositions which then belonged to the literature of his country, Alcuin afterwards versified the idea expressed in his letter, in the following lines;—

Bestia nam subito nostras subrepserat ædes,
In qua imago fuit capitum miranda duorum,
Quæ maxilla tamen pariter conjunxeret una,
Bis ternis decies sed dentibus horruit illa.
Esca fuit crescens illis de corpore vivo,
Nec caro, nec fruges, fructus nec vina bibentum
Dentibus edebat, patulo non tabuit ore.
Scis Damoeta meus, quæ sit hæc bestia talis.

The age of Alcuin at this time probably exceeded sixty

* Alcuin, Epist. p. 39.
† Alcuin, Epist. p. 56.

years; and, desirous of spending his latter days in seclusion from the world, he determined to return to his native country, and to revisit the tranquil cloisters of the monastery of York. He had already made preparations for his departure, and was entrusted with rich presents for king Offa, when the intelligence of new troubles in the kingdom of Northumbria and of the murder of king Ethelred diverted him from his project. In writing to king Offa he says, "I was prepared with the gifts of king Charles to visit you and return to my country; but I have thought it better on account of the peace of my people to remain in pilgrimage, not knowing what I should do amongst those, with whom no one can be secure or profit in healthful counsel. Behold the holy places laid waste by the pagans, the altars defiled by perjury, the monasteries polluted by adulterers, the land befouled with the blood of its lords and princes." * From this moment Alcuin resolved to spend the remainder of his life in the Empire of France; but, persisting in his intention of living in solitude, he demanded the permission of his royal patron to retire to Fulda.† Charles was unwilling to lose the society of his favourite instructor, and refused his consent; but shortly afterwards he gave him the abbey of St. Martin at Tours, which had become vacant by the death of Itherius, with the permiission to spend as much of his time as he liked within the walls of that monastic house.

Alcuin's mode of life at Tours was one rather of splendid retirement, than of pure humility. His theological oppo-

* Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire et ad patriam reverti; sed melius mihi visum est propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens, quid fecissem inter eos, inter quos nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecce loca sancta a Paganis vastata; altaria perjuriis fœdata, monasteria adulteriis violata, terra sanguine dominorum et principum fœdata. Epist. Alcuin, p. 57.

† Anon. Vit. Alcuin, cap. 8. Lorenz, p. 131.

nent Elipandus blamed him for his enormous wealth; and several circumstances of his life show with what zeal he supported the then growing temporal power of the church, against the civil authorities, to unite and strengthen which he proceeded with firmness in completing the reforms of the ecclesiastical orders which had been commenced by Boniface. Though he seldom quitted his monastery, he continued still to be the favourite counsellor of the King, who in cases of emergency went to consult him at Tours. The monastic school which Alcuin established there produced some of the most remarkable scholars of the following age. He sent a mission to England to procure books for its library, and it was here that he composed most of his writings.

In 803, Alcuin's zeal in defending the privileges of the church drew upon him the temporary displeasure of Charlemagne, and his grief on that occasion probably hastened his death. An ecclesiastic of the diocese of Orleans had been for some misdemeanour sentenced by his bishop (Theodulf) to be imprisoned, and, escaping from his confinement, he fled to the sanctuary of St. Martin at Tours. Bishop Theodulf obtained a warrant from the Emperor to take the fugitive from the asylum, and he sent a party of armed men who proceeded to execute their commission somewhat rudely. Alcuin's monks, without their abbot's knowledge, and with the help of the populace, rescued the offender and refused to give him up. The affair was carried before the Emperor, and Charlemagne expressed strongly his displeasure that his warrant should have been disregarded; yet Alcuin not only defended his monks, but also refused to surrender the criminal. At length the latter was allowed to make his escape privately, probably by Alcuin's connivance, and the Emperor's wrath was appeased. The letter which

Charlemagne addressed to Alcuin and his monks on this occasion is preserved; * and may be introduced not only as highly characteristic of the writer, but as a remarkable illustration of the life of Alcuin, whom the Emperor mentions in it with great indulgence.

Pridie quam ad nostram præsentiam a vobis missa venisset epistola, allatæ nobis sunt literæ a Theodulfo Episcopo missæ, querimonias continentes de inhonoratione hominum suorum, et non tam illorum, quam Episcopi hujus civitatis, vel contemptu jussionis Imperii nostri; quam jussionem de redditione cujusdam clerici de custodia ipsius elapsi, et in basilica S. Martini latitantis sub nostri nominis auctoritate conscribere jussimus; cujus etiam nobis exemplaria misistis, in quibus nos nequaquam injuste aliquid decrevisse, ut vobis visum fuit, putamus. Sed cum utrasque epistolas, vestram scilicet et Theodulfi, nobis relegere fecissemus; asperior multo nobis et cum iracundia composita vestra, quam Theodulfi, videbatur epistola, et in nullo erga illum caritatis condimento respersa; sed potius quasi reum defendens, et Episcopum accusans, et sub velamine quodam celati nominis continens vel posset vel admitti ad accusationem deberet; cum hoc omnino et divina et humana lege sancitum sit, nulli criminoso alterum accusandi dari licentiam, quamquam a vobis ad hoc defensus et conservatus sit sub obtentu jussionis nominis nostri, ut qui jam accusatus, et in conspectu populi civitatis suæ judicatus est, accusandi locum habere Cæsarei nominis appellatione deberet, ad exemplum beati Pauli Apostoli, qui apud principes Judææ a gente sua accusatus, sed nondum judicatus, Cæsarem appellavit, et ab eisdem principibus ad Cæsarem judicandus missus est, quod nequaquam præsenti negotio convenit. Paulus enim Apostolus a Judæis accusatus, sed non judicatus, Cæsarem appellavit, et adire permissus est. Hic vero infamis clericus, et accusatus et judicatus, et in custodia missus, et de custodia elapsus, basilicam, quam nisi post pœnitentiam ingredi non debuerat, contra legem ingressus, et adhuc, ut fertur, perverse vivere non cessans, ut dicitis, sicut Paulus Apostolus Cæsarem appellavit, sed nequaquam, ut Paulus, Cæsarem aditurus est. Illi enim, apud quem accusatus, et a quo judicatus atque in custodia missus est, et de cujus custodia evasit, præcipimus, ut reddatur, et ille eum ad nostram audientiam, sive vera sive falsa dicentem, adducat: quia non decet, ut propter talem hominem nostræ primæ jussionis ulla fiat immutatio. Sed et valde miramur, cum vobis solis visum sit nostræ auctoritatis sanctioni et decreto contraeundum, cum liquido pateat et ex consuetudine veteri et ex constitutione legum (regum) decreta recta esse debere; nec cuiquam permissum illorum edicta vel statuta contemnere. Et in hoc satis mirari nequivimus, quod illius scelerati hominis precibus, quam nostræ auctoritatis jussionibus obtemperare maluistis; cum nunc clarissime liquet, cum eodem homine amorem discordiæ ex irruptione caritatis de hoc loco vetuit egredi. Ipsi quippe nostis, qui con-

* Epist. Alcuin, 119, p. 174.

gregatio hujus monasterii ac servi Dei (et utinam vere!) dicimini, qualiter jam crebro vita vestra a multis diffamata est, et non absque re. Aliquando enim monachos, aliquando canonicos, aliquando neutrum vos esse dicebatis. Et nos consulendo vobis, et ad malam famam abolendam Magistrum et Rectorem idoneum vobis elegimus, et de longinquis provinciis invitavimus, qui et verbis et admonitionibus rectam vitam instruere, et, quia religiosus erat, bonæ conversationis exemplo potuisset informare. Sed pro dolor! aliorsum cuncta conversa sunt; et diabolus vos quasi ministros suos ad seminandam discordiam, inter quos minime decebat, invenit, scilicet inter sapientes et doctores ecclesiæ; et qui peccantes corrigere et castigare debuerunt, cogitis ad peccatum invidiæ atque iracundiæ prorumpere. Sed illi, Deo miserante, nequaquam assensum vestris malis suggestionibus præbituri sunt. Vos autem, qui contemptores nostræ jussionis extitistis, sive canonici, sive monachi vocamini, ad placitum nostrum, juxta quod præsens missus noster vobis indixerit, nobis vos adsistere scitote. Et quamvis ad nos missa hic factæ seditionis vos excuset epistola, venite, et condigna satisfactione inustum crimen eluite.

Alcuin died at Tours, on Whitsunday, the 19th of May, 804, and was buried with great pomp in the church of St. Martin. An epitaph, written by himself in Latin elegiacs, was placed on his tomb, and is preserved by his ancient biographer.

On the whole, the life and writings of Alcuin hold a less important place in the literary history of England than might have been supposed. Wilbrord and Boniface and their companions, struggling to dispel the dark cloud of ignorance which then enveloped the greater portion of Europe, spreading the knowledge of Christ with unceasing perseverance through so many tribes of barbarians, never cease to be English, and stand in bold relief on the picture of events. Alcuin, who followed the missionaries in the character of the schoolmaster after their work was done, loses his nationality amid the civilization and urbanity, which surrounded the court of the first Frankish emperor. His countrymen never forgot to be proud of the preceptor of Charlemagne. But he soon ceased to be identified with them, and, becoming engaged in politics with which

England had little concern, and in theological disputes to which his native land was still more a stranger, he possessed little of English besides his education. The influence of his writings upon his countrymen was consequently not great; for they had more profound theologians among the fathers of their own church, and Bede was still looked up to as the *teacher* of the Anglo-Saxons. In the tenth century, however, Alcuin's questions on Genesis were translated into Anglo-Saxon, and, from the numerous manuscripts of this version which remain, we are justified in concluding that it was a popular book.

The Epistles form the most interesting portion of Alcuin's works, not only as being the principal source of information relating to his character and life, but for the light which they throw upon contemporary history.* We have already given several examples, which may serve at the same time as specimens of the style of Alcuin's prose compositions. Though his Latin is far from pure, these Epistles are in general clear and dignified; the latter characteristic sometimes degenerates into inflated pompousness. Next in importance to the Epistles are his Poems, which are extremely varied in character, consisting of a long piece in hexameters on the bishops and saints of the church of York, an Elegy on the destruction of Lindisfarne by the Danes, and a considerable number of epigrams, epitaphs, and ænigmata. The best of these poems in point of composition, and that which has been most frequently quoted, is the Elegy on the Destruction of Lindisfarne. Latin poetry did not flourish in the age of Alcuin, and it is not much in favour of this piece to say that it is superior to most of the poems of the time. The following reflections

* See what has been already said on this subject, in the Introduction to the present volume, pp. 48, 49.

on the uncertainty of human happiness are perhaps the most striking passage it contains.*

Postquam primus homo Paradisi liquerat hortos,
  Et miseras terræ miser adibat opes:
Exilioque gravi pœnas cum prole luebat,
  Perfidiæ quoniam furta maligna gerit:
Per varios casus mortalis vita cucurrit,
  Diversosque dies omnis habebat homo:
Fatali cursu miscentur tristia lætis;
  Nulli firma fuit regula lætitiæ.
Nemo dies cunctos felices semper habebit,
  Nemo sibi semper gaudia certa tenet.
Nil manet æternum celso sub cardine cœli,
  Omnia vertuntur temporibus variis.
Una dies ridet, casus cras altera planget,
  Nil fixum faciet tessera læta tibi.
Prospera conturbat sors tristibus impia semper,
  Alternis vicibus ut redit unda maris.
Nunc micat alma dies, veniet nox atra tenebris,
  Ver floret gemmis, hiems ferit hocque decus.
Sidereum stellis culmen depingitur almis,
  Quas nubes rapiunt imbriferæ subito.
Et sol ipse die media subducitur ardens,
  Cum tonat undosi auster de vertice poli. *(sic)*.
Sæpius excelsos feriunt ut fulgura montes,
  Summaque silvarum flamma ferire solet;
Sic major magnis subito sæpissime rebus
  Eveniet casu forte ruina malo.

The poem on the church of York, although in general little more than a metrical history, contains a few good passages. The account of the hermit Balthere, and his visions and miracles, will afford a very fair example.

  Te quoque Pierio tangentes, Balthere, plectro,
Et tibi, Sancte, locum nostris in versibus istum
Signantes petimus, placida tu mente teneto,
Et rege nunc nostram pelagi per cærula cymbam
Inter monstra maris, scopulosas inter et undas,
Ut possit portum portans attingere tutum.
  Est locus undoso circumdatus undique ponto,
Rupibus horrendis prærupto et margine septus,
In quo bellipotens terreno in corpore miles

* See further on Alcuin's poetry, our Introduction, pp. 44 and 46

Sæpius aerias vincebat Balthere turmas,
Quæ sibi multimodis variabant bella figuris.
Qui tamen intrepidus hostilia castra relisit,
Tela malignorum, semper crucis arma beatus
Belliger opponens, galeam scutumque fidei.
Vir pius ille quidem quodam dum tempore solus
Incubuit precibus, meditans cœlestia tantum,
Horribilem subito strepitum simul atque fragorem
Audivit, veluti vulgi erumpentis in hostes.
Tunc anima ex superis cujusdam nubibus ejus
Ante pedes cecidit, nimio tremefacta timore;
Quam mox turba minax ingenti horrore secuta est,
Cum variis miseram pœnis torquere volentum:
At Pater ille pius placidis amplexibus illam
Arripuit gremio, statimque inquirit ab illa,
Quæ esset, cui fugeret, faceret vel quæ mala? cui tunc
Respondit: "Levita fui, sed mente maligna
Feminea amplexus manibus sum pectora tantum,
Et culpam erubui vivens in carne fateri.
Nunc idcirco feri duris incursibus hostes
Per triginta dies meme torquere sequuntur.
Nec captata fui, sed nec secura remansi."
Tunc terrebat eum clamans ex hostibus unus:
"Non hodie effugies, nec si tenearis in ulnis
Petri, sed meritas patieris, pessime, pœnas."
Sanctus at irascens Petri convicia propter,
Hæc ait: "Ecce! minor meritis sum centies illo
Principe apostolico; sed de pietate Tonantis
Confidens, dico tibi, trux et sæve tyranne,
Non hodie portabis eam sub tartara tecum."
Tunc pius interventor humo prosternitur, atque
Cum lacrymis Domino pro culpa supplicat illa.
Nec prius ille preces desistit fundere sacras,
Quam propriis animam ferri vidisset ocellis
Altius angelicas cœli super astra per ulnas.

The theological writings of Alcuin are generally divided into three classes, his commentaries on the Scriptures, which are characterized by the same partiality for typical interpretations as has been already observed in those of Bede, his dogmatic treatises, and his liturgic works (opera liturgica). The commentaries consist of the Questions and Answers on the book of Genesis, mentioned above as being translated into Anglo-Saxon, the comments on the

Penitential Psalms, on the Song of Solomon, and on the book of Ecclesiastes, the Interpretationes Nominum Hebraicorum, and the Commentaries on St. John, and on the three Epistles of St. Paul. His principal Dogmatic writings are the treatises de Fide Trinitatis and De Processione Spiritus Sancti, and his books against Felix and Elipandus. Under the head of Opera Liturgica are classed the Liber Sacramentorum, the treatise De Psalmorum Usu, the Officia per Ferias, and the tracts De Virtutibus et Vitiis and De Animæ Ratione. To these works are joined four lives of Saints, three compiled by Alcuin, those of St. Martin of Tours, of St. Richarius, and of his countryman Wilbrord (the latter in prose and in verse), and one, that of St. Vedastus, composed by an older writer but corrected and edited by himself. The tracts which Alcuin compiled for the purposes of instruction are few, and are not remarkable for their manner or the information they contain; they consist of four treatises, De Grammatica, De Orthographia, De Rhetorica et Virtutibus, and De Dialectica, with several brief tracts, some of which are of doubtful authenticity. The last editor of the works of Alcuin has given a collection of pieces either doubtful or decidedly supposititious, among which the only one of any importance is the Confessio Fidei, which has been believed by many scholars and theologians to be a genuine work of the preceptor of Charlemagne. There can be no doubt that some of the writings of Alcuin are lost: among these the most important must have been the biography of Charlemagne, attributed to him on the authority of an expression of Eginhard; though it is somewhat doubtful whether such a work ever existed.

Many of the writings of Alcuin were published separately, or in Collections, during the sixteenth century. His works were first printed collectively, but very imper-

fectly, by André Duchesne (under the latinized name of Andreas Quercetanus) in 1617. A far more complete edition was published in 1777, by Frobenius, prince-abbot of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon. But this also might be rendered much more perfect by a collation of the Manuscripts preserved in our English libraries.

*Editions of Alcuin.**

Alcuinus de Fide Trinitatis, in the Homiliarium, Basiliæ per Nicolaum Kessler, anno MCCCCXCVIII. Nonas Augusti. Reprinted in other Homiliaria of the sixteenth century.

Alcuinus de Fide Trinitatis. Impressum est præsens Opusculum in Uttinpurrha Monasterio SS. MM. Alexandri et Theodori, Ord. S. Ben. Anno MDIX. Cal. Sept. This was the first production of the printing office established in the monastery of Ottoburg by abbot Leonard.

Albini Diaconi Anglici in D. Joannis Evangelion commentariorum libri septem, Christiana fruge refertissimi. Argentorati, Anno M.D.XXVII. 8vo.

D. Albini Caroli illius Magni olim præceptoris, in Genesim Quæstiones, a Menardo Molthero restitutæ. Haganoæ per Io. Sec. Anno M.D.XXIX. 8vo.

Alcuini Dialectica and the Dialogus de Rhetorica, edited together by Menardus Moltherus, 8vo. Hagenoæ, 1529.

Alcuinus de Fide Trinitatis. 8vo. Argentorati, 1530.

Albini Theologorum suæ ætatis doctissimi, in Ecclesiasten Commentaria. Basiliæ, ex officina Bebeliana. M.D.XXXI. 8vo. Frobenius states it as doubtful if this edition were printed at Basil or Strasburg. It is dedicated to John Longland bishop of Lincoln.

Albini in Septem Psalmos Pœnitentiales et cxviii. Psalmum, et in Cantica Graduum, Expositio. Paris, ap. Nicolaum Divitem, 1547. 8vo.

Μικροπρεσβυτικον. Basil, 1550, p. 445. The Questiones in Genesin.

The Quæstiones in Genesin, and the Expositio in Psalmos Pœnitentiales, were printed in the collection of the Orthodoxographi, fol. Basil, 1555.

* Many of the separate editions of the writings of Alcuin are extremely rare. It is probable that some of them have entirely escaped our researches. Of others we can only speak from the indications of bibliographers. Some of the letters have been printed singly in books, which it was not considered necessary to point out. It may be observed that the manuscripts in England contain several inedited letters.

Alcuini Liber Sacramentorum, was printed in Jacobi Pamelii Opera Liturgica, Colon. 1561, 1571, and 1609.

Alcuini Institutiones Rhetoricæ, per Mat. Gallenum, 4to. Duaci, 1564.

Commentarius in Psalmos Pœnitentiales, 8vo. Paris, 1568.

De Virtutibus et Vitiis, in the Bibl. Patrum. Paris, 1575.

Homeliæ. Col. 1576.

The Quæstiones in Genesin, inserted in the Bibliotheca Patrum, fol. Paris, 1579, tom. ix.

Commentaria in Ecclesiasten, cum Epistola de Baptismi Cæremoniis. 8vo. Paris, 1589.

De Sanctissima Trinitate Libellus; Admodum reverendi patris F. R. Alcuini Albini Abbatis quondam S. Martini Turonensis: ad serenissimum ac potentissimum regem ac imperatorem Augustum Carolum Magnum. Repertus primum et descriptus e vetusto codice in celeberrimo virorum divino cultui mancipatorum cœnobio Augiæ Divitis nuncupato, ac nunc demum industria Nicolai Kalt typis divulgatus. Constantiæ, 1596.

Antiqui Rhetores Latini. Ex bibliotheca Francisci Pithoei IC. 4to. Paris, 1599, pp. 359—382. Alcuini sive Albini de Arte Rhetorica Dialogus.

Some of his Epistles were printed at Ingolstadt, 4to. 1601.

Canisius, Lectiones Antiquæ, fol. 1601. — Ed. Basnage, fol. Antverpiæ, tom. ii. p. 376. Supplementum ad Alcuini librum de Virtut. et Vitiis.—pp. 379—456. Alcuin's Epistles, from a MS. at St. Gallen.—pp. 457. 471, his homily on Wilbrord, and the metrical life of that Saint.—pp. 488—505. Alcuini Dialectica.—pp. 506—538. Alcuini Grammatica.—539—548. Epistola de Canticorum Loco, and the treatise De Cæremoniis Baptismi attributed to him.

Thesaurus Homiliarum seu Concionum, ex probatissimorum patrum, et SS. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ tam Græcorum quam Latinorum Doctorum monumentis, ab Alcuino Flacco, jussu Caroli Magni primum acri judicio erectus, commodoque ordine pro ratione temporis in totius anni Evangelia distributus. Tandem vero pro meliori usu, religiosissimi et doctissimi F. Laurentii Surii Carthusiani opera, in totius anni Epistolas concionibus exegeticis ex eisdem antiquissimorum Patrum adytis petitis plurimum auctus, ab innumerisque mendis vindicatus. fol. Col. Agrip. 1604. The homilies of Alcuin only form the foundation of this work.

Dialectica Alcuini, 4to. Ingolstadt, 1604.

Grammaticæ Latinæ Auctores Antiqui. Opera et Studio Heliæ Putschii. 4to. Hanov. 1605. coll. 2075—2142. Flacci Alcuini, Caroli Magni Imp. Magistri, Grammatica.

Opera, collected and edited by André Duchesne, fol. Paris, 1617.

Alcuini Dialectica, cura Met. Weiss. Salisburgi, 1629.

Historiæ Francorum Scriptores. Opera ac Studio Andreæ du Chesne Geographi Regis. fol. Lut. Paris, 1636. Tomus II. pp. 668—690.

Twenty-eight letters of Alcuin, pp. 690—693, four Epitaphs, and his Versus ad Carolum Imperatorem.

Compendium in Canticum Canticorum, ex edit. Patr. Junii. Lond. 1638.

D'Achery, Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot Scriptorum, 4to. 1654, tom. vi. pp. 391, and 396, three letters of Alcuin, tom. ix. p. 111, preface to the Exposition of the Psalms.—Nova editio, fol. Paris, 1723. tom. iii. 321, 322, 323, the letters and preface to the Psalms.

Confessio, seu Doctrina de Deo, edited by Chifflet, 4to. 1656.

Acta Sanctorum. Februarius, tomus I. fol. Antwerp. 1658, pp. 794—800. The life of St. Vedastus.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, Sæc. II. fol. Lut. Par. 1669, pp. 187—197. The life of St. Richarius. Sæc. III. pars prima, fol. Lut. Paris, 1672, pp. 601—629. The two lives of Wilbrord.—Sæc. III. pars secunda, fol. Lut. Par. 1672, pp. 558—569. A large portion of the poem on the bishops of York, given as anonymous.

Mabillon, Vetera Analecta, 8vo. Paris, 1675—85, tom. i. p. 369. Versus de Cuculo, tom. iv. pp. 272—312. Twenty-six letters of Alcuin previously inedited, p. 522. Alcuini versus de Aquila Episcopo Saltzburg.—Nov. Ed. fol. Paris, 1723, pp. 398—408. The twenty-six Epistles, p. 409. Alcuini versus de Cuculo, p. 348. The verses on Aquila (Arno).

Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglo-Danicæ, Scriptores XV. Opera Th. Gale, vol. 1. fol. Oxon. 1691, pp. 703—732. The poem De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis.

Pezius, Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus, fol. Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1721, tom. ii. pars 1. col. 1—10. Alcuini Opusculum de Comparatione Novi et Veteris Testamenti, and seven Epistles to Arno.

Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Tome Cinquième. Par Dom Marten Bouquet, fol. Paris, 1744, pp. 604—620. Twenty-five Epistles of Alcuin.

Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcvini Abbatis, Caroli Magni Regis ac Imperatoris Magistri, Opera. Post primam editionem, a viro clarissimo D. Andrea Quercetano curatam, de novo collecta, multis locis emendata, et opusculis primum repertis plurimum aucta, variisque modis illustrata. Cura ac Studio Frobenii, S. R. I. Principis et Abbatis ad S. Emmeramum Ratisbonæ. Tomi duo in quatuor voluminibus, fol. Ratisbon, 1777.

FRITHWALD AND ETHELBERT.

During the period of Alcuin's residence in France, we can with difficulty trace the name of a single writer in England. Two bishops of Northern sees merited by their reputation (for what reason is not stated), to be commemorated in the Saxon Chronicle, Frithwald (or Fretowald) of Whitern, and Ethelbert of Hexham.

Frithwald * was ordained bishop of Whitern (a small see which afterwards merged into that of Durham) at York on the 15th of August, 734 or 735, and died on the 7th of May, 763.† Dempster attributes to him a book addressed to Unnust king of the Picts, and another in praise of the Virgin Mary (Laudes Virginis Deiparæ, lib. i.)

Dempster (whose authority is not of great weight) states that Ethelbert wrote a treatise against Elipandus of Toledo, the sectarian opponent of Alcuin. We know with more certainty that he was consecrated to the bishopric of Whitern on the 16th of May, 776, at York; that in 789 he was translated to the see of Hexham; and that he died at Barton, Oct. 16, 797, and was buried in his church of Hexham.‡

* Godwin, de Episc. calls him Frithebertus.

† Chron. Saxon. sub ann. 763.

‡ Chron. Saxon. sub ann. Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 698.

Section IV.—The Ninth Century.

ETHELWOLF.

The only English writer of the beginning of the ninth century whom we can trace with any degree of certainty, is an Anglo-Latin Poet named Ethelwolf, of whom we have no further information than that which is contained in the only one of his poems now extant. He was probably a native of Northumbria, for while a child he was placed in a small monastery dependant on the larger establishment of Lindisfarne, which had been founded by a Northumbrian nobleman named Eanmund, and after having, at the begining of the ninth century, been governed successively by seven abbots, Eanmund himself, Eorpwin, Aldwin, Sigbald, Sigwin, Wulsig, and Winfrid, was probably destroyed and forgotten amid the devastations of the Danes.*

Ethelwolf informs us that he was first placed in the monastery while Sigwin was abbot, probably therefore

* In an early MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cotton, Tiberius, D. iv. fol. 309, r°.), written perhaps as early as the ninth century, the title is, Amicorum præstantissimo atque dilectissimo sacerdoti Ecgberchto presbyter meritis exiguus Aediluulf mittit salutem, and no name is given to the monastery. There appears also to be a very early MS. of Ethelwolf in the Bodleian Library, with similar rubrics, in which there is no mention of Lindisfarne. See Wanley's Cat. of Anglo-Saxon MSS. appended to Hickes, p. 140. In the rubrics to the Cambridge MS., from a transcript of which, sent him by Gale, Mabillon printed the poem in his Act. Sanct. Ord. S. Bened., the monastery is stated to be that of Lindisfarne, which we know was founded long before the time of Eanmund, and the names of the abbots given by Ethelwolf do not agree with the list of the abbots of Lindisfarne or of any other known religious house. The most reasonable supposition is, that it was one of the numerous monasteries founded by the Northumbrian nobles in the early part of the eighth century to afford a home for themselves and their families (see before, p. 300), and that, afterwards placed in dependance on that of Lindisfarne, it continued to be governed by petty abbots till it perished in the Danish invasions. In the Cambridge MS. the name of the author of the poem is written, Ethilwlfus, Edilwlfus, and Adiluulfus. See also Tanner in *Ethelwolphus*.

towards 780, and his birth may be placed a little before 770. He names his two preceptors, Eadfrid and Iglac (or Hyglac), and dedicates his poem, which is an account of the abbots and other eminent persons of the monastery in which he lived, to Egbert bishop of Lindisfarne, who held that see from 802 to 819. This poem is valuable chiefly as a document of history; but, though it has little merit, it is interesting as the only specimen we have of the Anglo-Latin poetry of that period. Ethelwolf gives the following account of his preceptor:—

Tempore quo lector præclarus gaudia digna
Accumulat patris, Iglacus nomine dictus,
De quo jamdudum perstrinxi pauca relatu,
Anglorum de gente pios dum carmine quosdam
Jam cecini indoctus vilisque per omnia scriptor;
Quæ si quis cupiat cum gnaro noscere corde,
Currat et hæc sitiens se ulgosis mergat in undis,
Littera quo docti non docte carmina patris
Pompat, et aggreditur poterit quod dicere digne.
Hoc tantum versus præsens mihi cartula signet,
Quod mensam digitis dominus circumdedit almam,
Inque caput sancti peditat benedictio larga,
Nec oculis cernens cernit de pectore gnaro,
Spiritus atque pios carnis fraudatus ocellis,
Necnon atque nigros mentis prospexit ocellis.
Hunc iterum manibus præcelsum cingere regem,
Viderat atque animam fulgentem lumine solis
Mentis in excessum quidam confessor in Anglis.
Quæ si quis cupiat diligenter scire per orbem,
Prædictas quærens jam nunc se mergat in undas.

It would appear by these lines, that the history of his monastery was not the only work of Ethelwolf, but that he had previously composed a poem on some eminent monks of his time, in which he had given a longer account of his master Iglac. At the end of his poem, Ethelwolf gives the meaning in Latin of his own name,—

Hæc *Lupus*, alte Pater, stolido de pectore *Clarus*
Carmine composuit, corpore mente rogans.

Edition of Ethelwolf.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum IV. pars secunda, fol. Paris, 1680, pp. 304—321. Ethelwolfi Monachi Carmen de Abbatibus et viris piis Cœnobii S. Petri in Insula Lindisfarnensi, from a MS. at Cambridge.

DICUIL.

At the end of the eighth century many English and Irish monks settled in France and Germany, some of whom gained celebrity as teachers, and probably were known among their contemporaries by their literary productions. Few of them have merited to be handed down to after times, and their writings were mostly works of little interest, which would scarcely have given them a claim to the title of English authors. There was, however, one writer of the beginning of the eighth century who deserves mention here, not only on account of the character of the book which bears his name, but also because it is one with which the Anglo-Saxons at a later period were probably familiar.

All that we know of Dicuil is gathered directly or by implication from his own book.* He appears to have been born in Ireland soon after the middle of the eighth century.† His own observations show that he was from his youth greedy of information relating to foreign lands, and

* M. Letronne, in his 'Récherches' on Dicuil, has examined with much acuteness most of the passages of the treatise De Mensura Orbis Terræ which relate to its author, but it does not appear to have occurred to him that Dicuil might have been one of the numerous Irish monks settled in France in the eighth century.

† Dicuil indicates his country very distinctly, circa *nostram* insulam Hiberniam, p. 37. Eremitæ ex *nostra* Scottia navigantes, p. 39. It is hardly necessary to observe that the present application of the name Scotia is comparatively modern. Letronne, Récherches, p. 24, supposes Dicuil to have been born between 755 and 760.

it is probable that, after visiting in his youth many of the British isles,* he entered an Irish monastery in France to derive further instruction from his countryman Suibneus.† While Dicuil was attending the school of Suibneus, the latter received a visit from a monk named Fidelis, who had gone to the Holy Land in company with a number of pilgrims from England, and who gave Suibneus and his scholar an oral relation of his travels in that country and in Egypt, of which Dicuil has inserted a curious abstract in his book.‡ It is distinctly stated that Fidelis sailed into the Red Sea by the canal which then communicated with it from the Nile; and as we know that that canal was finally blocked up by the khalif Abu Giafar Almansor in 767,§ it follows that the voyage of Fidelis must have taken place previous to that year, and his visit to Suibneus may have occurred within a few years afterwards. It seems

* Juxta insulam Britanniam, multæ aliæ, etc. . . . In aliquibus ipsarum habitavi, alias entravi, alias tantum vidi, alias legi. Dicuil, De Mens. Orb. p. 37.

† Fidelis frater meo magistro Suibneo narravit coram me (cui, si profeci aliquid, post Deum imputo). De Mens. Orb. p. 24. Letronne enumerates seven Irishmen named Dicuil and twenty-four named Suibneus (Recherches, pp. 8, 9, 23). These names therefore must have been very common; and the circumstance of there being so many of the name mentioned shows that there may have been many others of whom we know nothing, and that it is by no means necessary to identify our Dicuil and Suibneus with any of them.

‡ De Mens. Orb. pp. 24, 25. The old MSS. have, narravit . . . quod adorationis causa in urbe Hierusalem clerici et laici *habitaria* usque ad Nilum velificaverunt. Letronne corrects the faulty word to *ab Hibernia*, taking it for granted the *clerici et laici* were all Irishmen. We prefer the conjecture previously made, and correct it to *a Britannia*, because the corruption is in that case more easily explained. An earlier MS. perhaps had ab'tania: in MSS. the contraction for *ri* is frequently mistaken for simple *i*, and in writings older than the twelfth century *n* and *r* are very easily mistaken for each other. It must also be remembered that Dicuil does not state that the travellers were Irishmen.

§ The history of this canal is discussed in a very satisfactory manner by Letronne, Recherches, pp. 11—22.

probable that Dicuil remained in France during the rest of his life. In 795, he met with some clerks who gave him important information concerning the islands to the north of Scotland, and who appear to have visited Iceland.* The manner in which he speaks of the celebrated elephant presented by Haroun el Raschid to Charlemagne shows that he was then in France (i. e. between July, 802, and 810), and that he was a witness of the exhibition which excited so much popular curiosity on that occasion.† In the autumn of 825, when he was probably at least 70 years of age, Dicuil composed his treatise De Mensura Orbis Terræ; ‡ we are justified in supposing that he was still in France, from the circumstances that the books he quotes were more likely to be found in that country than in Ireland, and that all the manuscripts of his treatise known to exist have evidently been derived from the libraries of monasteries situated within the kingdom of the Franks.

Perhaps Dicuil had himself become a teacher; for the tract De Mensura Orbis Terræ appears to have been designed for the instruction of his countrymen in France. It consists of a general description of the earth, as then known, founded upon an older work containing the measures of the Roman empire as they were said to have been taken under the Emperor Theodosius, which was in

* De Mens. Orb. p. 38.

† Ut populi communiter regni Francorum elephantem in tempore imperatoris Karoli viderunt. De Mens. Orb. p. 48. The elephant is mentioned in the chronicles of the time. See Eginhard, Ed. Teulet, 1840, pp. 52, 254, 288.

‡ We learn this from the verses at the conclusion of the book de Mens. Orb. Ter. pp. 70, 71.

Dicuil, accipiens ego tracta auctoribus ista, &c.
* * * *
Post octingentos viginti quinque peractos
Summi annos Domini terræ, æthræ, carceris atri,
Semine triticeo sub ruris pulvere tecto,
Nocte bobus requies largitur fine laboris.

great repute among the medieval geographers. With this he has interwoven extracts from other early writers, such as Pliny, Solinus, Orosius, Isidore, and Priscian, besides new information which he had collected in the course of his own inquiries. Dicuil's language is rude and perfectly destitute of ornament; but he exhibits an extensive acquaintance with books, and quotes Virgil, Lucan, and other Latin writers. We give as a specimen his account of the northern islands. It is the most curious part of his book, because it establishes two important points of history, first, that the Irish had made a settlement in Iceland in the eighth century, long before its discovery by the Northmen,* and, secondly, that the Feroe islands (for Letronne has shown that those described by Dicuil can be no other,) had been inhabited by Irish monks nearly a hundred years before they were driven away by the incursions of the northern pirates at the beginning of the eighth century.

Thule ultima in qua, æstivo solstitio sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum, nox nulla: brumali solstitio, perinde nullus dies.

Trigesimus nunc annus est a quo nuntiaverunt mihi clerici, qui a kalendis Februarii usque kalendas Augusti in illa insula manserunt, quod non solum in æstivo solititio, sed in diebus circa illud, in vespertina hora, occidens sol abscondit se quasi trans parvulum tumulum, ita ut nihil tenebrarum in minimo spatio ipso fiat; sed quicquid homo operari voluerit, vel pediculos de camisia abstrahere, tanquam in præsentia solis potest: et, si in altitudine montium ejus fuissent, forsitan nunquam sol absconderetur ab illis. In medio illius minimi temporis, medium noctis fit in medio orbis terræ; et sic puto e contrario in hiemali solstitio, et in paucis diebus circa illud, auroram in minimo spatio in Thule apparere, quando in medio meridies fit orbis terræ. Idcirco mentientes falluntur, qui circum eam concretum fore mare scripserunt, et qui a vernali æquinoctio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte, atque ab autumnali versa vice usque ad vernale æquinoctium

* Letronne, Récherches, pp. 137, 138, shows that the details given so distinctly in Dicuil, can apply only to phenomena observable in the latitude of the southern part of Iceland, which leaves no doubt of the identity of Dicuil's Thule with that island. Iceland is said to have been discovered by the Northmen about 860. Dicuil gathered his information relating to it in 795.

assiduam quidem noctem, dum illi navigantes in naturali tempore magni frigoris eam intrabant, ac manentes in ipsa dies noctesque semper, præter solstitii tempus, alternatim habebant: sed navigatione unius diei ex illa ad Boream congelatum mare invenerunt.

Sunt aliæ insulæ multæ in septentrionali Britanniæ oceano, quæ a septentrionalibus Britanniæ insulis duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis, assiduo feliciter vento, adire queunt. Aliquis presbyter religiosus mihi retulit quod in duobus æstivis diebus et una intercedente nocte navigans in duorum navicula transtrorum, in unam illarum introivit. Illæ insulæ sunt aliæ parvulæ, fere cunctæ simul angustis distantes fretis, in quibus in centum ferme annis eremitæ ex nostra Scottia navigantes habitaverunt. Sed, sicut a principio mundi desertæ semper fuerunt, ita nunc causa latronum Nortmannorum, vacuæ anachoretis, plenæ innumerabilibus ovibus, ac diversis generibus multis nimis marinarum avium. Nunquam eas insulas in libris auctorum memoratas invenimus.

The treatise of Dicuil De Mensura Orbis Terræ was first published in 1807, by C. A. Walckenaer, from two manuscripts in the Royal (then Imperial) Library at Paris. In 1814, a new edition was given by A. Letronne, who endeavoured to restore the text by conjectural emendations, and by the additional readings obtained from the collation of two manuscripts in Italy. There is another manuscript of this tract, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

It appears from his prologue to the book just mentioned, that Dicuil was also the author of a treatise on Grammar,* which appears to be lost.

Editions of Dicuil.

Dicuili Liber de Mensura Orbis Terræ ex duobus Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Imperialis nunc primum in Lucem editus a Car. Athan. Walckenaer. 8vo. Par. Firm. Didot, 1807.

Récherches Géographiques et Critiques sur le Livre De Mensura Orbis Terræ, composé en Irlande, au Commencement du Neuvième Siècle, par Dicuil; suivies du Texte restitué, par A. Letronne.—Dicuili Liber de Mensura Orbis Terræ, Codicibus II. MSS. Monumentisque Veteris Geographiæ collatis, emendatus, illustratus, opera A. Letronne, Parisini. 8vo. Paris, 1814.

* Post congregatam epistolam de quæstionibus decem artis grammaticæ, cogitavi ut Liber de mensura provinciarum orbis terræ sequeretur. Dicuil, p. 3.

SWITHUN.*

During the melancholy period of the Danish invasions, from the reign of Egbert to the time when king Alfred restored the island to peace, science and literature seem to have been banished from our land. The name of Swithun stands alone conspicuous among the general darkness, and it merits a place in a work like the present chiefly because his life is connected with the early years of the great Alfred. Swithun appears to have been a native of Wessex; he was born in the reign of Egbert,† probably at or very soon after the commencement of the ninth century. He was placed at an early age in the monastery of Winchester, where he was distinguished by his pious humility and by his application to study. He was ordained a presbyter by bishop Helmestan, in or soon after the year 830. Swithun's reputation for learning was at this time so generally known, that king Egbert chose him for the instructor of his son Ethelwolf (or, as he was more popularly called, Athulf),‡ who appears to have been

* A life of St. Swithun, by an English monk named Gotselin, was published in a much altered shape by Surius, and reprinted (with collations from the same life in Capgrave) in the Acta Sanctorum Julii, vol. i. p. 327. A manuscript of the original text of Gotselin, written in the twelfth century, far superior to the printed text, is preserved in the Arundel Library in the British Museum, No. 169, fol. 36, v°. Accounts of his posthumous miracles were written in the tenth century in prose by Lamfridus, or Lantfridus, and in verse by Wolstan, both monks of Winchester. A very fine manuscript containing the works of Lamfridus and Wolstan, is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 15 C. VII. Lamfrid's book is printed in the Acta Sanctorum Julii, i. p. 328; and another account of Swithun's miracles is printed in the same volume, p. 331.

† Gotselin. Vit. Swithuni, in Act. SS. Jul. i. p. 327.

‡ Commendavit autem ei rex filium suum nomine Athulfum et documentis literalibus edocendum et sanctis moribus instruendum. Gotselini Vit. Swith. MS. Arund. 169, p. 37, v°.

designed for the church, for before his father's death in 838, he had attained to the degree of a deacon.* But after that event, Ethelwolf, being the only direct representative of the royal line of the West Saxons, not only quitted the monastery of Winchester to ascend his father's throne, but he also obtained from the pope a dispensation from his holy orders to allow him to marry,† and he made Osburgha, the daughter of his noble cup-bearer Oslac, his queen.‡ Bishop Helmestan died about the same time as king Egbert, perhaps before him; and one of the first acts of Ethelwolf's reign was to accede to the petition of the monks of Winchester, and confer on his friend and teacher Swithun the vacant see,§ which it has been pretended was designed for himself. Swithun was consecrated by Coelnoth archbishop of Canterbury.

Ethelwolf was a remarkable example of a weak monarch, who loved peace and retirement, placed suddenly upon a throne in unusually difficult times. William of Malmsbury pretends that in him was fulfilled the ancient opinion of Plato, that the state would be happy, where either philosophers were kings, or where kings were philosophers.‖ His kingdom appears, indeed, to have

* Gotselin. Vit. Swith. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 242, calls Ethelwolf sub-deacon of Winchester. Henry of Huntingdon, and other Chroniclers after him, state that he was bishop of Winchester. Hic primum fuerat episcopus apud Wincestre, sed Egbricto patre suo defuncto necessitate cogente factus est rex, et uxore ducta quatuor filios genuit. Hen. Hunt. p. 348. But this was certainly an error. Godwin, de Episc. supposes that he might have been bishop elect at the time of his father's death.

† Gotselin. Vit. Swith. i. Act. SS. Jul. i. p. 327. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 342.

‡ Asser, Vit. Ælfredi Regis, p. 1.

§ Nec mora: rex Athulfus omnium petitioni assentiens et aggaudens beatum Swithunum altorem et doctorem suum, ita enim eum solitus erat nominare, ut in quibusdam scriptis ipsius regis repperimus, ad se evocavit, petitionem omnium refert, etc. Gotselin. Vit. Swith. MS. Arundel. 169, fol. 37, r°.

‖ Est enim Platonis vetus et laudata sententia, tunc fore beatam rem-

been governed with great skill, by the counsels of his two bishops, Swithun of Winchester and Alstan of Sherborne.* Bishop Alstan was a statesman and a soldier, and led the king's armies in person in many battles against the Danish invaders. Swithun appears to have been the chosen companion of the king's private hours, and he exerted his interest on all occasions in favour of the church. After the great battle of Akley, in 851, had checked for a time the incursions of the Danes, Swithun persuaded the king to renew the intercourse with the court of Rome, which had been interrupted by so many years of trouble. Accordingly, in 853, Ethelwolf sent his youngest and favourite son Alfred, then five years of age, to Rome, with a large retinue of people of all ranks; † and there are some grounds for supposing that the royal child was conducted to the apostolical city by Swithun himself.‡ Two years afterwards (in 855), having first by Swithun's advice given the tythe of all his kingdom to the church,§ Ethelwolf visited Rome in person, taking with him his son Alfred. He carried with him the tribute of the English people to

publicam, si vel philosophi regnarent, vel reges philosopharentur. Veritas dicti prodiit in effectum per istum Adulfum, etc. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. p. 242.

* Habebat enim duos suo tempore præcellentes præsules, beatum Swithunum dico Wintoniæ et Alstanum Schireburniæ: hi videntes regem crassioris et hebetis ingenii, sedulis admonitionibus ad scientiam regnandi stimulabant. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Reg. Angl. p. 37.

† Asser. Vit. Ælfr. p. 2, ed. Camden.

‡ It appears from Spelman's Life of Alfred, (p. 18, ed. Hearne,) that this information was given in a note in the margin of a MS. of the Polychronica, on the authority of "St. Neot's Life of King Alfred." This perhaps means some anonymous life of St. Neot, in which an account of Alfred is introduced. The circumstance itself has strong probability in its favour.

§ Ejus precibus et exhortationibus rex Adulfus permotus, ecclesiis Dei universam decimam terræ regni sui benigne donavit, libereque sibi vendicare concessit. Gotselin. Vit. Swith. in Act. SS. Julii, i. p. 327. Conf. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 37; de Gest. Pontif. p. 242; Asser. Vit. Ælfr. p. 2; etc.

the pope which was afterwards so well known by the name of Peter's Money, and after remaining at Rome twelve months, during which time he rebuilt the English school which had been accidentally burnt, he returned home through France, and on his way married Judith the daughter of Charles the Bald.*

This foreign match appears to have been distasteful to the Anglo-Saxon nobles; and when Ethelwolf arrived in England, he found a considerable portion of his subjects in arms against him, led by his bishop Alstan and his own son Ethelbald. Ethelwolf avoided a civil war, by quietly yielding a large part of his kingdom to his son; and he only survived this partition two years and a half, dying in January, 858. The influence of Swithun appears not to have ended with the death of king Ethelwolf. It is said that by his exhortations, king Ethelbald was induced to repent of his incestuous marriage with his step-mother Judith.†

Swithun was a great benefactor to his own diocese, and to the city of Winchester. Besides building and repairing many churches,‡ he erected the eastern bridge of Winchester with strong arches of stone.§ But he lived to see the city plundered and in great part ruined by the Danes (A.D. 860). He died on the second day of July, 862,|| and by his own directions was buried in the church-

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. pp. 37, 38. Asser. Vit. Ælfr.

† Rudborne, Annal. Winton. in Anglia Sacr. vol. i. p. 204.

‡ Gotselin. Vit. Swith. in Act. SS. Jul. i. p. 327.

§ Pontemque ad orientalem portam civitatis arcubus lapideis opere non leviter ruituro construeret. Gotselin. Vit. Swith. MS. Arundel. 169, fol. 37, v°.

|| The Saxon Chronicle places Swithun's death in 861.—Her forðferde S. Swiðun biscop. Gotselin, MS. Arundel. 169, fol. 38, r°, places his death in 862, which he calls the third year of the reign of king Athelbert. This is correct, because Athelbert began his reign in the summer of 860, and July 862 was the beginning of the third year of his reign.

yard. The situation of his grave was afterwards forgotten, till it was discovered in the tenth century, in the time of bishop Ethelwold, and was carried into the interior of the cathedral. After the Reformation the name of St. Swithun was one of those retained in the English Protestant calendar; and his festival happening at a period when popular superstition looked for presages of the character of the ensuing autumn, the saint has become famous among our peasantry as the patron of rainy weather.

NEOT.

The parentage of St. Neot has been the subject of much fruitless discussion;* but the early accounts of his

* There are preserved several lives of St. Neot, all filled with legendary matter, and apparently founded upon a life composed towards the beginning of the eleventh century, as they contain some historical mistakes which could not have been made at an earlier period. The most ancient of those now extant is a Sketch in Anglo-Saxon, in MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. XIV, fol. 142, v°, which has been printed in the Rev. G. C. Gorham's History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's. A Life in Latin prose, of which there is a manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Claudius, A. v.), is printed in Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. IV. part II. p. 324. Whitaker, in his Life of St. Neot, has printed two lives from MSS. at Oxford, one in Latin elegiacs, the other in prose mixed with Latin hexameters, which appears to have been made from a life written entirely in hexameter verse. Mr. Gorham has printed the condensed life by John of Tynemouth.

A life of St. Neot, by the Rev. John Whitaker, was published posthumously in 8vo. London, 1809: it is perhaps one of the most singular collections of injudicious conjectures and unfounded theories that was ever put together. The object of the writer is to prove, that Neot was Alfred's eldest brother Athelstan, who (as he pretends) had changed his name when he entered the Abbey of Glastonbury. In the History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, and of St. Neot's in the County of Cornwall, by George Cornelius Gorham, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1820 and 1824, will be found a sketch of the Life of the Saint, and a number of curious documents relating to him.

life seem to agree in making him of royal blood and a kinsman of king Alfred. He must have been born towards the middle of the first half of the ninth century, and is said to have been first bred to the profession of arms; but while still in the prime of youth,* he renounced the world, and entered the abbey of Glastonbury, about the year 650.† It is said that he there became eminent for his literary attainments, and that the fame of his learning drew to Glastonbury a great number of scholars eager to profit by his instruction.‡ The Anglo-Saxon Life of Neot seems to indicate that during this period of his life he made several visits to Rome.§

After a residence of some years at Glastonbury, Neot was seized with an eager desire to live in greater solitude, and he quitted his abbey, accompanied by a single attendant named Barius, to seek a place suitable to his purpose. At length he settled among the woods of Cornwall, in a beautiful sylvan spot, near a village previously known by the name of Ham-Stoke, but afterwards called from him Neot-Stoke, and in more modern times distinguished by the simple appellation of St. Neot's.‖ He there built himself a hermitage, and remained in it with his single companion during seven years, at the end of which period he began again to conceive the idea of returning to the world. His biographers tell us that he went to Rome to consult the pope, by whose advice he returned to his once

* Jam vero florem attingens juventutis. Vita Sti. Neoti, in Whitaker, p. 341.

† Gorham, vol. i. p. 27.

‡ Lives of Neot quoted in Gorham, p. 28. The Anglo-Saxon Life says of him, he was on iugeðe þæs þe bec secgeð to boclicre lare ge-sett— he was as the book saith in his youth set to book-learning. Gorham, p. 256.

§ He ge-neosode Romeburh seofe siðen Christe to lofe ⁊ seinte Petre,— he visited Rome seven times for the love of Christ and St. Peter.

‖ Vita S. Neoti, in Whitaker, p. 345. The Anglo-Saxon Life, in Gorham, p. 257.

solitary dwelling, and founded there a small monastic house, into which he gathered some monks, and was himself constituted their first abbot.

According to his biographers, he at this time received frequent visits from his kinsman King Alfred, who held him in the highest respect, and he urged his royal relative to turn his mind from the vanities of the world. It is pretended that it was by his advice that Alfred re-endowed the English school at Rome, and sent offerings to the pope, and that his influence with the pope procured for Alfred many apostolical favours.* Some writers of very suspicious authority have gone still farther, and asserted that not only did St. Neot originate the idea of the foundation of the University of Oxford, which they pretend was first laid by Alfred, but that he and Grimbald were the two first professors there.†

If we can put any faith in the stories told by the biographers, Neot must have died in or a little before the year 877; but all our information relating to him is extremely uncertain; his festival was kept on the 31st of July. He was buried at St. Neot's in Cornwall, where his bones remained in peace during about a century, when in 974 they were carried away by stealth to the newly-founded monastery of St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, where they were deposited in a handsome chapel.

The old bibliographers (Bale, Pits, &c.) attribute to Neot several writings, as Annals of the earlier part of Alfred's reign, Sermons and Exhortations, a Letter to Pope Martin on the subject of the English School at Rome, and a book of Exhortations to King Alfred. We may observe, that there is less authority for making him the author of these writings, than for making him professor at Oxford.

* Vita S. Neoti, in Whitaker, pp. 347, 348.

† The authorities are enumerated, and their evidence very properly rejected, by Gorham, i. p. 41.

KING ALFRED.*

Alfred, the youngest child of Ethelwolf and Osburgha, was born in the year 848, in the royal manor of Wantage in Berkshire, where the kings of the West-Saxons had a palace, supposed to have been built on the site of a Roman station. History has preserved several anecdotes of the childhood and youth of this great prince. He was distinguished above all his brothers by his beauty, graceful manners, and early display of talent, and was on that account the favourite of his parents. The affection of king Ethelwolf for his youngest child, and perhaps a presage of his future greatness, made him conceive the idea of appointing him his successor to the throne; and on this account he seems to have been an object of jealousy to his elder brothers. It was probably with this view that Ethelwolf committed the infant, when but five years of age, in 853, to the dangers of sea and land (no slight ones, when we consider that both elements were then infested by the Northern pirates), that his high destiny might be consecrated by the hands of the pope, Leo IV., by whom he was not only adopted as his spiritual son, but anointed and crowned as the future monarch of the West-Saxons.† Two years afterwards his father took him to visit Rome a second time, and remained with him there a full year.

* The chief authority for the history of Alfred's private and literary life, is the biographical sketch attributed to bishop Asser. His public life is the subject of general history. In modern times his biography has exercised the pen of various writers. A life written by Sir John Spelman was published in Latin, in fol. Oxon. 1678, and in the original English by Thomas Hearne, in 8vo. Oxon. 1709. The previous Latin version was made by Obadiah Walker. A Life of Alfred had been previously published in 12mo. Lond. 1634, by Robert Powell, who ingeniously finds a resemblance between the life of Alfred and that of Charles I. up to the year in which it was published. A Life of Alfred, in English, by A. Bicknell, appeared in 1777, Lond. 8vo.

† Asser. Vit. Ælfr. p. 1. (ed. Camden.)

The notion, so widely prevalent, that the education of Alfred had been neglected in his childhood, is a popular error, founded upon the monastic ideas of his biographer Asser. In these early ages those children only were taught to read and write who were destined for the clerical order. In the times which preceded the introduction of Christianity, the priest and the minstrel alone were able to decipher the mystic runes—mystic only because they were not known to the uninitiated; this continued to be the case with the two classes of society (churchmen and laymen) long after the conversion of the Saxons; it was no part of the accomplishments of a prince to be able to write or to read, for with them learning and literature were entrusted to the memory, and in this respect we are sure that Alfred experienced no neglect. The learning of his father, and the influence of Swithun, are proofs that he could not want teachers; and Asser himself informs us that he was taught and excelled in all the accomplishments which became a prince. He spent much of his time in listening to the national poetry as sung by the minstrels of his father's household, and committed it to memory with great facility. He was skilful beyond his age in hunting and the use of arms. His early visits to Rome, the capital of Western civilization, must have tended to enlarge his mind. It is said that when he had reached his twelfth year, he had not yet been taught to read; yet, according to the anecdote related by Asser, in this point he was not inferior to his elder brothers. It appears that when Ethelwolf married the French princess Judith, Alfred's mother was set aside to make way for his step-mother, and it is probable that the children took her part and went with her. It was after his father's death, and in his mother's house (not, as some have supposed, in that of his step-mother, who had then become his sister-in-

law), that the following incident is said to have occurred. In his twelfth year, when he and his brothers were one day in their mother's presence, she showed them a splendid book of Anglo-Saxon poetry, an article then of great value, and she told them that she was ready to give it to him who should first make himself master of its contents, and commit them to memory. Alfred, attracted by the beauty of the initial letter, and already distinguished by his thirst for knowledge, accepted the challenge, took the book out of his mother's hand, and "went to his master and read it, and, having read it, he brought it back to his mother, and recited it."*

Alfred had early experience of the cares of government. In his eighteenth year he had lost all his brothers except Ethelred, who was then on the throne of Wessex, and it appears that Alfred held the second rank in the kingdom.† The brief reign of Ethelred was a continued struggle against the overpowering hordes of the Northern invaders. In 868, Alfred, being then in his twentieth year, married Alswitha, daughter of the Mercian Earl Ethelred; and immediately afterwards he and his brother led the army of the West-Saxons into Mercia to dislodge the Danes from Nottingham. In 871, the two brothers were defeated at Reading, and Ethelred received a wound which hastened his death; but four days afterwards they fought again, and obtained a decisive victory at Escendun (Ashdown). A few days later they were again defeated at Basing, and then, soon after Easter, Ethelred died, and was buried in Wimburne Minster.

* Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua, magistrum adiit et legit. Quo lecto matri retulit et recitavit. Asser. Vit. Ælf. p. 5.

† It is difficult to fix the meaning of the title which Asser gives to Alfred at this time: Ælfred rex, *secundarii* tamen tunc ordine fretus, p. 6. Ælfred tunc *secundarius*. Ælfred, qui usque ad id temporis, viventibus fratribus suis, *secundarius* fuerat, p. 7.

The popular choice pointed out Alfred as his successor The young prince alleged modestly that the sceptre of the West-Saxons was a dignity which, in the circumstances of the times, he dared not accept; that it was evident that no one, unless especially aided by the divine providence, would be able to make head against the devastating storm which was sweeping over them; and that he feared he was not himself worthy to be the object of God's choice.* But the urgent solicitations of the people overcame his reluctance. After the ceremonies of his brother's burial and his own advancement to the throne had been hurried over, he hastened into Wiltshire, and within the same month fought a great battle at Wilton, in which the Danes obtained the victory. During the first eight years of his reign Alfred was engaged in constant warfare with the Danes, until in 878, after numerous battles fought with various success, his fortunes were reduced so low that he was compelled to seek a shelter with a small body of his most faithful companions in the wilds and woods of Somersetshire.† His chief abode was in the isle of Athelney, where a remarkable monument of his misfortunes has since been found, in a beautiful enamelled jewel bearing his name,‡ and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This spot was the scene of the interesting legend, so often repeated by modern writers, which appears to have been current in the latter part of

* Asser. Vit. Ælf. p. 7.

† ⁊ he lytle werede uneðelice æfter wudum for, ⁊ on mor-fæstenum—and he with a small army uneasily went to the woods and in the moor-fastnesses. Saxon Chron. Cum paucis suis nobilibus, et etiam cum quibusdam militibus et vasallis, per sylvestria et gronnosa Summurtunensis pagæ loca in magna tribulatione inquietam vitam ducebat. Nihil enim habebat quod uteretur, nisi quod a Paganis, et etiam a Christianis qui se Paganorum subdiderant dominio, frequentibus irruptionibus aut clam aut etiam palam subtraheret. Asser, p. 9.

‡ The inscription on the jewel is, Alfred het meh ge-wyrean.—Alfred ordered me to be made.

the tenth century. The king, according to the oldest document in which this legend is noticed, "then went lurking through hedges and ways, through woods and fields, so that he through God's guidance arrived safe at Athelney, and begged shelter in the house of a certain swain, and even diligently served him and his evil wife. It happened one day that this swain's wife heated her oven, and the king sat thereby, warming himself by the fire, the family not knowing that he was the king. Then was the evil woman suddenly stirred up, and said to the king in angry mood, 'Turn thou the loaves, that they burn not; for I see daily that thou art a great eater.' He was quickly obedient to the evil woman, because he needs must." *

According to other legends, St. Neot before his death had foretold all the misfortunes which now fell upon his royal kinsman; and while the latter remained concealed in the peasant's cottage, the saint appeared to him in a dream, and assured him that the time was come when God would restore him to his throne, after having given him the victory over his enemies. It is probable that the king, during the brief period he remained at Athelney, was actively engaged in watching the movements of the Danes, and in preparing to attack them. Another legend represents him passing three days in the Danish camp in the disguise of a minstrel, in order that

* Ferde þa lutigende geond heges ⁊ weges, geond wudes ⁊ feldes, swa ꝥ he þurh Godes wissunge ge-sund becom to Æðeling-ege, ⁊ on sumes swanes huse his hleow gernde, ⁊ eac swylce him ⁊ his yfele wife georne herde. Hit ge-lamp sume dæige ꝥ þæs swanes wif hætte hire ofen, ⁊ se king þær-big sæt, hleowwinde hine beo þan fyre, þan heowen nytende ꝥ he king wære. þa wearð ꝥ yfele wif færinge astyrod, ⁊ cwað to þan kinge eorre mode, "ðænd þu þa hlafes ꝥ heo ne for-beornen, for-þam ic ge-seo deighwamlice ꝥ pu mycel-æte eart." He wæs sone ge-hersum þan yfele wife, for þan þe he nede scolde. Anglo-Saxon Homily on St. Neot. The passage of Asser which mentions this story is an evident interpolation: in fact it does not agree well with the account of his condition given by Asser and the Saxon Chronicle.

he might observe their position and learn their designs. Soon after Easter he nearly destroyed the united Danish army in the great battle of Ethandune, and compelled those who escaped with their king Guthrum, to embrace Christianity and become his dependents.

It is difficult to account for the hasty submission of the Danes who were in England, after the battle of Ethandune, which was but one victory gained by an inferior antagonist: they seem, to use the words of one of the best historians of our day, to have become weary of their barbarism.* But their peaceful conversion did not entirely deliver Alfred from his terrible enemies; for scarcely a year passed during the rest of his reign, in which the coasts of England were not visited by parties of the northern pirates. In 879, a large army of northmen arrived in the Thames, and joined the army of Guthrum, and went with it the year following to settle in East-Anglia, with the exception of a party who, probably dissatisfied with the pacification, left England to seek their fortune in Flanders and France. In 882, Alfred defeated another body of invaders in a naval fight. In 884, another army entered the Medway, and laid siege to Rochester, but they were driven back to their ships by Alfred's approach. In the same year, at the mouth of the Stour, he defeated a fleet which attempted to land in Essex, to join the Danes of East-Anglia, who were on the point of rebelling. The two or three years which followed, were undisturbed by hostilities of any importance, and were employed by Alfred in re-building the towns and monasteries which had been destroyed by the invaders. In 886, he rebuilt London. In 894, the English Danes having rebelled, joined some of their countrymen who appeared suddenly on the coast, but they

* Palgrave, History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 132.

were defeated by Alfred in a decisive battle, which however did not hinder them from harassing the country till 897, when they went over to their countrymen in France. Convinced by long experience of the difficulty of expelling these invaders when they had once set foot on land, Alfred now saw the necessity of establishing a strict guard of the coasts, and for this purpose he ordered long vessels to be made of a new construction, which drew more water and had higher decks, and which were not only superior in battle but swifter in their motions than those of his enemies.*

When Alfred felt himself secure upon his throne, and the submission of the English Danes had given him leisure to attend to the improvement of his people, one of his first measures was to renew his intercourse with the pope. In 883, pope Marinus sent to the West-Saxon king a piece of the wood of the real cross, and subsequently, he added other precious relics. The same year Sighelm and Ethelstan carried the king's alms not only to Rome, but to the Christians of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew in the remote regions of India, from whence they brought back numerous rich gems and other commodities.† The alms of Alfred seem to have been sent to Rome yearly, and the English of all ranks began again to make frequent voyages to that city. In 888 the king's sister, Ethelswitha, died on her way thither. The next year it is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle as a remarkable event that there was "no journey to Rome," with the exception of two couriers whom Alfred sent with

* Saxon Chronicle, sub an. 897.

† And Marinus se papa sende þa *lignum Domini* Ælfrede cyninge. And þy ilcan geare lædde Sighelm ⁊ Æþelstan þa ælmessan to Rome, þe Ælfred cing ge-het ðider, and eac on Indea to S'c'e Ðome ⁊ to S'c'e Barðolomee. Sax. Chron. sub an. 883. See also W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 44, and Asser, p. 12.

letters.* The increase of the number of travellers to Italy restored the importance of the English school in that city, which had already been revived by the munificence of king Ethelwolf. At the intercession of Alfred, pope Marinus granted to the School new privileges, freeing it of the payment of taxes to the papal see.† Alfred further showed his attachment to the church by repairing those monasteries which had been destroyed by the Danes, and by building others. His principal foundations were the monasteries of Athelney and Winchester, the former of which places was the scene of his most reduced fortunes. The Danes had inflicted on his kingdom one loss which it was not in Alfred's power to repair; with the monastic houses they had committed to the flames the literature of the country, in which the libraries of the monks were rich, and with them have perished even the names of many of our native writers. "I thought," says the king himself, in mournful language, "how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the churches throughout England stood filled with treasures and books."‡

Alfred's efforts for the restoration of literature in England were great, and to a certain degree successful. He tells us himself that the native scholars had disappeared with the troubles of the preceding reigns, and, to supply their place, he sent for learned men from France, a country which was then suffering under the same evils from which he had delivered his own country. In this way he brought over Grimbald, whom he made abbot of

* Her on þysum geare næs nan færeld to Rome, butan tweges hleaperas Ælfred cyning sende mid ge-writum. Sax. Chron. sub an. 889.

† And ðy ylcan geare forð-ferde se goda papa Martinus, se ge-freode Ongel-cynnes scole be Ælfredes bene, West-Seaxna cyninges, ⁊ he sende him micla gifa on halidome, ⁊ þære rode dæl þe Crist on þrowode. Sax. Chron. sub an. 885. Conf. Asser, p. 12.

‡ Preface to the translation of the Pastorale.

his new monastery at Winchester;* and a learned priest of the nation of the Old-Saxons, named John, to whom also he is said to have given an abbey.† To these, according to some authorities, we are to add the name of the celebrated Johannes Scotus.‡ At the same time the king sought out and rewarded men of learning in our own island: he invited Plegmund from Mercia to make him archbishop of Canterbury; summoned to his court three of his countrymen, bishop Werfrith, and the priests Ethelstan and Werwulf, all distinguished for their erudition; and he is said to have promoted Asser, abbot of St. David's, to the bishopric of Sherborne.§ The king is represented as spending a large portion of his time with his learned men. According to Asser, he established a school for the education of the princes, and the sons of his nobles, in which they were instructed in letters before they learned any manly exercise, and in which Anglo-Saxon as well as Latin was publicly taught.‖ The authority which connects the name of Alfred with the pretended schools at Oxford is more than suspicious.¶

Alfred was not only a great patron of learning in others, but he was himself remarkable for his eagerness in the search of knowledge, and was the writer, or rather the translator, of several books. Historians represent him as being moved to this undertaking by the patriotic love of

* Asser, p. 14. W. Malmsb. p. 45.

† Asser, p. 18.

‡ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 45. See p. 419 of the present volume.

§ Asser, p. 14.

‖ Asser, p. 13. In qua schola utriusque linguæ libri, Latinæ scilicet et Saxonicæ, assidue legebantur.

¶ It consists of two interpolations, one in the text of Asser, the other in a legend of St. Neot, and in the assertions of some much later writers. See further on the life of Grimbald.

his native language, and Asser describes him as eagerly listening to the national songs of his countrymen; but Alfred himself tells us that his reason for translating books into English was the neglect then shown to the study of Latin by the larger portion even of his clergy, and the consequent difficulty in finding people who could understand the originals. Perhaps we are right in judging that he was actuated by both these feelings. It has by some been supposed, though with little apparent probability, that the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle was begun in his reign. The following works were written by Alfred, or have been attributed to him.

1. In order to make his subjects more generally acquainted with ancient history, Alfred translated into English the historical work of Orosius. A manuscript of this translation is in the Cottonian Library, Tiberius, B. I., from which it was printed by Daines Barrington. Another copy is now with the other manuscripts belonging to the Lauderdale Library, in the possession of Lady Dysart.

2. The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church has also been generally attributed to Alfred. Manuscripts of this work are in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge, and in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 41, the latter of which belonged to Leofric bishop of Exeter. The other manuscript (MS. Cotton. Otho, B. XI.) was destroyed by the fire in the Cottonian Library. This book also has been printed.

3. Alfred translated for the more especial use of his clergy the Pastorale of Pope Gregory, and is said to have sent a copy of it to each of his bishops, whose names were severally inserted in the translator's preface. Three of the original copies thus sent are still preserved, addressed

to Wulfsige bishop of Sherborne, (in the Public Library, Cambridge,) to Wærferth bishop of Worcester, (in the Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton, No. 88,) and to Plegmund of Canterbury, (MS. Cotton. Tiberius, B. XI.) The latter is very much injured by the fire. The Cambridge MS., which had been preserved in the cathedral of Wells, and was sent by bishop Jewel to Archbishop Parker, is as clean and fresh in appearance, as when it came from the hands of Alfred's scribe, and is a noble specimen of Anglo-Saxon writing. The Cottonian MS. Otho, B. II., now destroyed by the fire, contained a copy from the one sent by the king to Hehstan bishop of London, apparently of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. There is also a somewhat later transcript of Wulfsige's copy of the Pastorale in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and another manuscript of the book in the library of Corpus Christi College, No. 12. This work has not been printed. The Dialogues of pope Gregory were translated by Werferth bishop of Worcester, under Alfred's direction.

4. Another work of the king's which is still preserved is a select translation of the Soliloquies of St. Augustine. A copy of it is in MS. Cotton. Vitellius, A. XV., but it has not been printed.*

5. One of the most interesting of Alfred's translations is that of the treatise of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiæ, a work exceedingly popular during the Middle Ages. It is more freely translated than his other books, and exhibits more than any of them the philosophical turn of Alfred's mind. The original is said to have been glossed for the king by Asser, to render it more easily intelligible.†

* In the MS. it concludes with the following words, Haer endiað þa cwidas þe Ælfred kining alæs of þære bec ðe we hatað on . . . . This book is not mentioned by the old writers.

† W. Malmsb. pp. 44, and 248.

A manuscript of this work, written in the common hand of the tenth century, Otho, A. vi., has been so much injured by fire that it consists only of a few ragged leaves. A transcript of it is preserved among the Manuscripts of Junius in the Bodleian Library. Another, written towards the beginning of the twelfth century, is in the Bodleian Library.* It has been twice printed.

6. Alfred's Manual, or Hand-book (as he called it), existed in the time of William of Malmsbury.† Asser says that it was about the size of a Psalter, and that Alfred entered in it prayers and psalms and his daily observations, and that he always carried it about with him.‡ It appears from William of Malmsbury that it also contained historical anecdotes, and miscellaneous entries.§

7. William of Malmsbury informs us that the king, at the time of his death, had commenced an Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms, which he left unfinished; ‖ some have pretended that Alfred translated other parts of the Bible.

8. Most writers who have given lists of Alfred's works include among them what they call Alfred's Proverbs. This work, which has been recently printed, is preserved in two manuscripts, in MS. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B. 14, 39, and in MS. Col. Jes. Oxford, 1, 29; a third, MS. Cotton. Galba, A. xix, perished in the fire. They are of the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is a collection of moral instructions in verse, conveyed in popular proverbs, supposed to be addressed by him to his people and

* Described by Wanley, p. 64.

† Liber proprius, quem patria lingua *hand-boc*, id est manualem librum appellavit. W. Malmsb. De Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

‡ Asser. Vit. Ælfr. pp. 5, 17.

§ See the anecdote of Aldhelm quoted from it by W. Malmsb. p. 215 of the present volume.

‖ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 44.

to his son, but it has no claim to be ranked among his works. This tract must have been in existence early in the twelfth century, for it is mentioned by Ailred of Rievaux.*

9. The translation of Esop's Fables attributed to king Alfred was probably not more genuine. Our knowledge of this book is derived from the Epilogue to the fables of the Anglo-Norman poetess Marie, who says that she translated them from Alfred's English version :—

Esope apelum cest livre,
Qu'il translata e fist escrire ;
De Griu en Latin le turna.
Li reis Alvrez, que mut l'ama,
Le translata puis en Engleis ;
Et jeo l'ai rimée en Franceis, etc.
(MS. Harl. No. 978, fol. 87, v°.)

Some of the manuscripts of these fables give a different reading of the name,† but that of Alfred is the best supported. Alfred's name continued long to be popular, and was probably affixed in different ways to many such works as the two last mentioned. The introduction to a Latin version of Esop, preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, also mentions Alfred's English translation, in a manner which can leave little doubt of the existence of such a book bearing that monarch's name.‡

The old bibliographers, such as Bale and Leland, enumerate other works under the name of Alfred for which

* Extant Parabolæ ejus, plurimum habentes ædificationis, sed et venustatis, sed jucunditatis. Ailred. Rieval. ap. Leland. de Script. Brit. p. 150.

† Roquefort, Introd. to his edition of the Works of Marie, adopts the reading of *Henri* for *Alvrez* from one MS., but his arguments only tend to show that he understood the subject imperfectly.

‡ Deinde rex Angliæ Affrus in Anglicam linguam eum transferri præcepit. MS. Reg. 15 A. VII. 77, r°. This information was probably taken from some book in the Anglo-Norman language, in which, according to the relation between the two languages, *Alfredus* becomes *Auvrez*, as *Albericus* becomes *Aubris*, &c. (The *z* is produced by the *d* and *s* of the original word.) A writer in Latin easily transformed *Auvrez* to *Affrus*.

there is no authority. We think also that it is not necessary to place among the king's literary productions his enactments, which are printed in all the editions of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

Alfred's translations are executed with much spirit. As he tells us himself, he "sometimes interprets word for word, and sometimes meaning for meaning;" and he not unfrequently inserted passages of his own. The most interesting of his works in respect to this latter point are, his version of Boethius, containing several very remarkable additions, and his Orosius, in the geographical part of which he has given the valuable narratives of two northern navigators, Ohtere and Wulfstan, whom he had personally examined.* In point of style, Alfred's translations may be considered as the purest specimens we possess of Anglo-Saxon prose. We could not select a better example than the introduction to the translation of Gregory's Pastorale, taken from the copy sent to bishop Wulfsige.†

Ðis is seo fore-spræc hu S. Gregorius þas boc ge-dihte, þe man Pastoralem nemnað.

Ælfred kyning hateð gretung Wulfsige bisceop his worðum luflice ⁊ freondlice, ⁊ þe cyðan hate, þ me com swiðe oft on ge-mynd, hwylce witan geo wæron geond Angel-cyn, ægðer ge godcundra hada ge woruldcundra, ⁊ hu ge-sæliglica tida þa wæron geond Angle-cyn, ⁊ hu þa cyningas þe þone anweald hæfdon þæs folces, Gode ⁊ his æryndwritum hyrsumodon; ⁊ hu hi ægðer ge heora sybbe ge heora sydo, ⁊ ge heora anweald innan borde gehealdon ⁊ eac ut hira eðel rymdon; ⁊ hu him þa speow, ægðer ge mid wige

* See pp. 21—28, of the edition by Daines Barrington.

† *Translation.*—This is the preface how St. Gregory made the book which people call Pastorale. Alfred the king greets affectionately and friendly bishop Wulsige his worthy, and I bid thee know, that it occurred to me very often in my mind, what kind of wise men there formerly were throughout the English nation, as well of the spiritual degree as of Laymen, and how happy times there were then among the English people, and how the kings who then had the government of the people obeyed God and his Evangelists, and how they both in their peace and in their war, and in their government, held them at home, and also spread their nobleness abroad, and how they then flourished as well in war as in wisdom; and also the religious

ge mid wisdome; and eac þa godcundan hadas hu georne hi wæron ægðer ge ymbe lara ge ymbe leornunga, ⁊ ymbe ealle þa þeow-domas þi hy Gode sceoldon, ⁊ hu man ut on borde wisdome ⁊ lare hider on land sohte, ⁊ hu we hi nu sceoldon ute begitan, gif we hi habban sceoldon. Swa clæne heo wæs oðfeallen on Angel-cynne ꝥ swiðe feawa wæron be-heonan Humbre þe hira þenunge cuðon understandan on Englisc, oððe furðon an ærend-ge-writ of Ledene on Englisc areccan; ⁊ ic wene ꝥ naht monige be-geondan Humbre næron. Swa feawa heora wæron, ꝥ ic furþon anne ænlepne ne mæg ge-þencan be-suðan Thamise þa þa ic to rice feng. Gode ælmightigum sy þanc, ꝥ we nu ænigne an steal habbað lareowa. For þam ic þe beode, ꝥ þu do swa ic ge-lyfe ꝥ þu wille, ꝥ þu þe þissa woruld þinga to þam ge-æmtige, swa þu oftost mæge, ꝥ þu þone wisdome þe þe God sealde þær þær þu hine befæstan mæge befæst. Ge-þenc hwilce witu us þa becomon for þisse woruld, þa þa we hit na hwæðer ne selfe ne lufedon, ne eac oþrum mannum ne lyfdon. þone naman anne we lufdon ꝥ we Cristene wæron, ⁊ swiðe feawa þa þeawas. þa ic þis eal ge-munde, þa ge-mund ic eac hu ic ge-seah ær þam þe hit eal for-heregod wære ⁊ for-bærned, hu þa circan geond eal Angel-cyn stodon maðma ⁊ boca ge-fylled, ⁊ eac micel mæniu Godes þeawa, ⁊ þa swiðe lytle feorme þara boca wiston, for þam þe hi hira nan þing ongitan ne mihton, for þam þe hi næron on hira agenge þeode awritene. Swilce hi cwædon ure yldran þa þe þas stowa ær heoldon, hi lufedon wisdome, ⁊ þurh þone hi begeton welan ⁊ us læfdon. Hær mon mæg gyt ge-seon hira swæð; ac we

orders how earnest they were both about doctrine and about learning, and about all the services that they owed to God; and how people abroad came hither to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and how we now must obtain them from without if we must have them. So clean it was ruined amongst the English people, that there were very few on this side the Humber who could understand their service in English, or declare forth an epistle out of Latin into English; and I think that there were not many beyond Humber. So few such there were, that I cannot think of a single one to the south of the Thames when I began to reign. To God Almighty be thanks, that we now have any teacher in stall. Therefore I bid thee that thou do as I believe thou wilt, that thou, who pourest out to them these worldly things as often as thou mayest, that thou bestow the wisdom which God gave thee wherever thou mayest bestow it. Think what kind of punishments shall come to us for this world, if we neither loved it ourselves nor left it to other men. We have loved only the name of being Christians, and very few the duties. When I thought of all this, then I thought also how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the churches throughout all the English nation were filled with treasures and books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants, and yet they knew very little fruit of the books, because they could understand nothing of them, because they were not written in their own language; as they say our elders, who held these places before them, loved wisdom, and through it obtained weal and left it to us. Here people may yet see their path, but we cannot follow after them, because

him ne cunnon æfter spyrgean, for þam we habbað ægðer for-læton ge þone wela ge þone wisdom, for þam þe we noldon to þam spore mid ure mode on lutan. þa ic þa þis eall ge-munde, þa wundrode ic swiðe þæra godera witena þe geo wæron geond Angel-cyn, ⁊ þa bec be fullan ealle ge-leornod hæfdon, ꝥ hira þa nanne dæl noldon on hira agen ge-þeode wendan, ac ic þa sona eft me sylfum andwyrde ⁊ cwæð, hi ne wendon ꝥ æfre men sceoldon swa recelease wurðan, ⁊ seo lar swa ðofeallan. For þære wilnunge hi hit for-leton, ⁊ woldon ꝥ her þe mara wisdome on lande wære, þi we ma ge-þeoda cuðon. þa ge-munde ic hu seo æ wæs ærysṫ on Ebreisc ge-þeode fundon, ⁊ eft þa Crecas ge-leornodon, þa wendon hi hit on hira agen ge-þeode ealle, ⁊ eac ealle oðra bec, ⁊ eft Leden-ware swa sone siððan hi hit ge-leornodon, hi wendon ealle þurh wise wealhstodas on heora agen ge-þeode, ⁊ eac alle oðra Cristene þeoda sumne dæl hira on hira agen ge-þeode wendon. For þi me þingð betere gif geow swa þincð, ꝥ we eac sume bec þa þemed beþyrfysta syn eallum mannum to witanne, ꝥ we þa on ꝥ ge-þeode wendon þe we ealle ge cnawan mægen, ⁊ ge-don swa we swiðe eaðe magon mid Godes fultume, gif we þa stylnesse habbað, ꝥ eall seo geoguð þe nu is on Angel-cynne freora manna, þara þe þa speda hæbben, ꝥ hi þam befeolan mægen syn to leornunga oðfæste, þa hwile þe hi nanre oðerre note ne mægen, oð fyrst þe hi wel cunnen Englisc ge-writ arædan. Lære mon siððan furðor on Leden ge-þeode, þa þe man furðor læran wille, ⁊ to herran hade don wille. þa ic ge-munde hu seo lar Leden ge-þeodes ær þysum afeallen wæs geond Angel-cyn, ⁊ þeah manega cuðon Englisc ge-writ arædan, þa ongan ic ge-mong

we have lost both weal and wisdom by reason of our unwillingness to stoop to their track. When I thought of all this, then I wondered greatly that none of the excellent wise men who were formerly in the English nation and had fully learned all the books, would translate any part of them into their own native language; but I then soon again answered myself and said, they did not think that ever men would become so careless and learning so decay. They therefore willingly let it alone, and would that more wisdom were in this land, the more languages we knew. Then I considered how the law was first found in the Hebrew tongue; and again the Greeks learnt it, then they translated it all into their own speech, and also all other books; and also the Latin people afterwards, as soon as they had learnt it they translated it all through wise interpreters into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own tongue; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own languages. Therefore it appears to me better, if you think so, that we also some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language that we can all understand, and cause, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves on nothing else, till at first they can read well English writing. Afterwards let people teach further in the Latin tongue those whom they will teach further and ordain to higher degree. When I thought how the learning of the Latin

oðrum mislicum ⁊ monigfealdum bisgum þisses kynerices þa boc wendan on Englisc þe is ge-nemned on Leden *Pastoralis*, ⁊ on Englisc *Hirde-boc*, hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa ic hi ge-leornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscope, ⁊ æt Assere minum biscope, ⁊ æt Grimbolde minum mæsse-preoste, ⁊ æt Johanne minum mæsse-preost. Siððan ic hi þa ge-leornod hæfde, swa swa ic hi for-stod swa hic hi andgitlicost arrecan meahte, ic hi on Englisc awende ; ⁊ to ælcan biscop-stole on minum rice wylle ane on-sendan, ⁊ on ælcre bið an æstel se bið on fiftigum mancessa. ⁊ ic bebeode on Godes naman, ꝥ man þone æstel fram þare bec ne do, ne þa boc fram þam mynstre, uncuð, hu lange þær swa ge-lærede biscepas syn, swa swa nu Gode þanc wel hwar sindon. For þi ic wolde ꝥ hi ealne weg æt þære stowe wæron, buton se biscop hi mid him habban wylle, oððe ueo hwær to læne sy oððe hwa oðre bi-write.

Former biographers have been induced to give Alfred the fame of being a poet as well as a prose writer ; this is owing to Asser's account of the love which the king shewed always to his native poetry, and of the metrical version of the Metres of Boethius attributed to him. We have already stated it as our opinion that these metres were not the work of Alfred ;* they were probably composed by some obscure writer of the tenth century, who imagined that Alfred's version of Boethius was imperfect so long as the metres were only given in prose. If Alfred had written verse, it would certainly have possessed some of the

language before this was decayed through the English people, though many could read English writing, then I began among other divers and manifold affairs of this kingdom to translate into English the book which is named in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Herdsman's book*, sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as I learnt it of Plegmund my archbishop, and of Asser my bishop, and of Grimbold my presbyter, and of John my presbyter. After I had then learnt it so that I understood it as well as my understanding could allow me, I translated it into English ; and I will send one copy to each bishop's see in my kingdom, and on each one there is a stile of the value of fifty mancuses ; and I bid in God's name that no one take the handle from these books, nor the books from the mynster, unknown, as long as there are any learned bishops, as (thanks to God) there are now everywhere. Therefore I would that they remain always in their places, unless the bishop will have them with him, or it be lent somewhere until somebody write another copy.

* Introduction to the present vol. pp. 56, 57.

higher characteristics, which distinguish that class of compositions in the Anglo-Saxon language; and we cannot believe that he would have submitted to the puerile occupation of arranging his own words in alliterative couplets. The following specimens will be sufficient to show how little skill is displayed in versifying Alfred's prose. We give the prose in one column, and the corresponding verses in the other. The first instance is the well-known passage relating to Weland,* which of course is not found in Boethius, and we think that had Alfred spoken of him in poetry he would have introduced further allusions to the legend.

Alfred's Prose.

Hwæt sint nu þæs fore-mæran and þæs wisan gold-smiðes ban Welondes? For-þy ic cwæð þæs wisan, for-þy þam cræftigan ne mæg næfre his cræft losigan, he hine mon ne mæg ðonne eþ on him ge-niman þe mon mæg þa sunnan awendan of hiere stede. Hwær sint nu þæs Welondes ban?

The Metres.

Hwær sint nu þæs wisan
Welandes ban
þæs gold-smiþes,
þe wæs geo mærost?
For-þy ic cwæð þæs wisan
Welandes ban,
for-þy ængum ne mæg
corð-buendra
se cræft losian
þe him Crist on-læned.
Ne mæg mon æfre þy eð
ænne wræccan
his cræftes be-niman,
þe mon oncerran mæg
sunnan on-swifan,
and þisne swiftan rodor
of his riht-ryne
rinca ænig.
Hwa wat nu þæs wisan
Welandes ban?

We might give many more striking instances than this, for there is no variation in the mode of transfer from verse to prose: we will however simply quote the opening lines of three of the Metres.†

* Cardale's Boethius, p. 106. Foxe's Edit. of the Metres, p. 40.

† Cardale's Boethius, p. 112, 136, 156. Foxe's Metres, pp. 43, 53, 60.

An sceppend is buton ælcum tweon, ⁊ se is eac wealdend heofones ⁊ eorþan ⁊ ealra ge-sceafta ge-sewenlicra ⁊ eac un-ge-sewenlicra.	An sceppend is butan ælcum tweon, se is eac wealdend woruld-ge-sceafta, heofones and eorþan, and heah sæ; and ealra þara þe þær in wuniað un-ge-sewenlicra, and eac swa same þara þe we eagum on lociað.
Ic wille nu mid giddum ge-cyþan hu wundorlice Drihten welt eallra ge-sceafta mid ðam bridlum his anwealdes.	Ic wille mid giddum, get ge-cyþan hu se ælmihtiga ealra ge-sceafta bryrð mid his bridlum.
Ðeah nu se unrihtwisa cyning Neron hine ge-scyrpte mid eallum þam wlitegestum wædum, ⁊ mid ælces cynnes gimmum ge-glengde, hu ne wæs he þeah ælcum witum laþ ⁊ unweorþ, ⁊ ælces unþeawes ⁊ firen-lustes full.	Ðeah hine nu se yfela unrihtwisa Neron cynincg niwan ge-scerpte wlitegum wædum, wundorlice golde ge-glengde and gim-cynnum, þeah he wæs on worulde witena ge-hwelcum on his lif-dagum lað and unweorð, fieren-[lustes] full.

We have stated in our Introduction that the writer of these metres has not only transcribed into verse Alfred's introduction, and several phrases in different parts of the work which belonged properly to the prose, but that he has overlooked some of the metres given by Alfred. The metres omitted are, Boethius, lib. i. metr. 6; ii. metr. 2; and iv. metr. 7.* The reason of this omission is very remarkable. Alfred generally introduces the metres with the words "Then Wisdom began to sing," (ongan he

* Cardale's Boethius, pp. 16, 34, 36.

singan, or giddian, or gliowian;) but in these three instances only he has omitted that expression in the prose version, which led the writer of the metrical version to overlook them entirely. It seems to us quite impossible that king Alfred should have fallen into such an error when reading over his own book. In our Introduction we have pointed out one passage where the writer of the metrical version exhibits greater ignorance of the ancient classics than Alfred. There is another instance quite as remarkable. In his translation of the third metre of the fourth book of Boethius, Alfred tells us that Ulysses governed two countries, Ithaca and Retia (ða ðioda wæron hatene Iþacige ⁊ Retie).* The versifier, either having before him a corrupted copy of Alfred's version, or mistaking the word, changed Ithaca into Thrace, and made his alliteration to suit it,†

He wæs Ðracia
þioda alder,
and Retie
rices hirde.

All these circumstances taken together, seem to us conclusive in proving that Alfred was not the author of the metrical Anglo-Saxon version of the Metres of Boethius. Of the only manuscript known to contain this version a considerable portion is still preserved in the Cottonian library; this is in the common hand-writing of the tenth century, and may have been written towards the latter end of it.

Alfred died on the 28th of October, 901. His children, and even his grandchildren, inherited from him the same greatness of mind, and love of science and literature, which were so conspicuous in his own character. His name continued to be cherished among his countrymen till the

* Cardale's Boethius, p. 300.

† Foxe's Metres, p. 112.

extinction of Anglo-Saxon independence, and it was without doubt the subject of numerous traditionary stories and anecdotes. Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries his memory was kept alive, as the burthen of popular songs, and by productions similar to the fables and proverbs already mentioned. In the following lines he is characterized as the "shepherd" and the "darling of the English people."

> ⁊ heke Alfred,
> Englene herde,
> Englene derling:
> * * *
> he was in Enkelond a king,
> wel swiþe strong ⁊ lufsum þing.
> He was king ⁊ cleric,
> ful wel he lovede Godis were;
> he was wis on his word,
> ⁊ war on his werke;
> he was the wisiste mon
> þad was in Engelonde on.

Editions of King Alfred's Works.

The Preface to the Pastorale was printed with Asser's Life, by Matthew Parker, fol. Lond. 1574; it was reprinted at Leyden, in 1597, par Bon. Vulcanium Brugensem, in a scarce anonymous work entitled, De Literis et Lingua Getarum, sive Gothorum: it was again printed by Camden, in his Anglica, Normannica, &c. Scripta, fol. Francof., 1603; and afterwards by Wise, in his edition of Asser, 8vo. Oxon. 1722.

Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum Libri V. à Venerabili Beda Presbytero scripti. Edited by Wheloc. fol. Cantabr. 1643. Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Bede.

An. Manl. Sever. Boethii Consolationis Philosophiæ Libri V. Anglo-Saxonice redditi ab Alfredo, inclyto Anglo-Saxonum Rege. Ad apographum Junianum expressos edidit Christophorus Rawlinson, e Collegio Reginæ. 8vo. Oxon. 1698.

Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum, &c. Auctore Baeda. Edited by Smith, fol. Cantabr. 1722, pp. 471—649. Anglo-Saxon version of Bede.

The Anglo-Saxon Version, from the Historian Orosius. By Ælfred the Great. Together with an English Translation from the Anglo-Saxon. 8vo. London, 1773. By Daines Barrington.

The Will of King Alfred. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1788. 4to.

The Will of King Alfred, reprinted from the Oxford Edition of 1788; with a preface, and additional notes. 8vo. London, 1828.

King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, with an English Translation, and Notes. By J. S. Cardale. 8vo. London, 1829.

King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the Metres of Boethius, with an English Translation, and Notes; by the Rev. Samuel Fox. 8vo. London, 1835.

Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Edited by Thomas Wright and James Orchard Halliwell. Vol. i. 8vo. London, 1841. pp. 170—188. The Proverbs of King Alfred.

ASSER.

THE history of bishop Asser is involved in some obscurity, because, independent of the information contained in the book which goes under his name, we have very few personal allusions to him. We know from authentic documents that there was an Asser bishop of Sherborne at the beginning of the tenth century.* This bishop Asser died, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 910, or, according to the Latin Chronicle called Asser's Annals, in 909. He is supposed to be the same person with the Asser whom king Alfred, in his preface to the Pastorale, calls "Asser my bishop" (æt Assere minum biscope); but it is rather singular that the very preface in which he speaks thus of bishop Asser is addressed to Wulfsige bishop of Sherborne, and therefore Alfred's bishop Asser cannot then have filled that see. We can only account for this apparent discrepancy by supposing that Asser was bishop of some other see before he was presented to

* In the lists of Bishops in MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. v. written in the latter part of the tenth century, the see of Sherborne is said to have been occupied by the following bishops, from the death of Heahmund (872) to Wærstan (who was also slain by the Danes, in 918), Æðelheah, Wulfsige, Asser, Æðelweard, Waerstan. The name of Asser (ego Asser episcopus) occurs among the signatures to some charters of the reign of Edward the Elder. See Tanner, Biblioth.

Sherborne. Some writers have pretended that he was bishop of St. David's in Wales;* but it is quite certain that Alfred would apply the term "my bishop" only to one whose see was within his own dominions and in his own appointment. Alfred in his will, made between the years 872 (when he came to the throne) and 885 (when Esne bishop of Hereford, mentioned in it, died), probably not very long after the former date, makes a bequest to "the bishop at Sherborne," † who is called, in the Latin copy of the will, "Asser bishop of Sherborne." ‡ This however must be an error of the Latin translator. Ingulf says that Asser was abbot of Bangor.§

Asser gives us the following account of himself in his life of Alfred. He says that at the time when Alfred invited the foreign scholars from France (Grimbald and John of Corvei), he also sent for him from Wales. Asser accompanied the king's messengers, and found Alfred at Dene in Sussex, who received him in the most friendly manner, and begged him urgently to "relinquish the possession he had on both sides of the Severn," in order to come and live at his court, promising to give him property of much greater value to repay the sacrifice. Asser replied that he could not promise to do this without further consideration, as he thought it wrong to quit the place where he had been nursed, and educated, and had received the tonsure and been finally ordained, unless by some strong

* Tanner quotes as authority for this an "ancient" list of bishops of the see of St. David's, in MS. Cotton. Claudius, B. VII. On referring to it, I find that it is written in a hand of the time of James I. Our Asser cannot be the 'Archbishop Asser' of the Welsh lists of bishops of St. David's.

† ⁊ þam ercebisceope .c. mancusa, ⁊ Esne bisceope, ⁊ Wærferðe bisceope, ⁊ þam æt Scireburnan. King Alfred's Will, 8vo. 1828, p. 20.

‡ Insuper archiepiscopo do centum marcas, et Esno episcopo, et Werfertho episcopo, et *Assero episcopo de Sciréburn*, &c. The Will in Latin, in Camden's Anglica, &c. p. 24.

§ Ingulphi Historia, Ed. Savile, p. 870.

compulsion. The king then said that he would be satisfied to enjoy his services during six months of the year, and that the other six he should spend in Wales. But Asser refused also to agree to this proposal, until he had consulted with his friends; and Alfred let him return to his country, with the promise to visit him again at the end of six months, and make the king acquainted with his final determination. Four days after this, Asser left the court, but when he reached Winchester he was suddenly attacked by a violent fever, under which he lay in a hopeless state during more than twelve months. On his recovery, he came to Alfred, whom he found at "Leonaford," and he there agreed to attend at his court six months in the year, on the condition that they should not be consecutive, but that he should pass alternately three months at St. David's, and three months in England. He pretends that he was only induced to make this agreement by the hope that his friendship with the king would protect his monastery, and the diocese of St. David's, against the persecutions of the Welsh prince Hemeid, who on one occasion had driven away from the diocese himself and "his kinsman the archbishop of the see." * But Asser seems to have been so well satisfied with Alfred's court, that his first residence there lasted eight months instead of three; and when he pressed the king for permission to go, he gave him the two monasteries of Angresbury and Banwell, with other gifts, observing at the same time that these were trifles in comparison with those which he reserved for him at a future period. Asser then informs us that the king afterwards gave him Exeter, with the "whole parish that belonged to it in Saxony (Wessex) and in

* Sicut et nobis Archiepiscopum propinquum meum et me expulit aliquando. Asser, p. 15.

Cornwall,"* and loaded him with many other favours, which he begs his readers not to think that he enumerates from ostentatious feelings, but rather to show the extent of the king's generosity and liberality. The only further information which Asser gives concerning himself is, that he wrote the life of Alfred in the forty-fifth year of Alfred's age, that is about A.D. 893. It is dedicated to the king.

It must be confessed that Asser's story carries with it an air of improbability. The extraordinary reluctance of Asser to quit Wales, and the extreme anxiety of the king to bring him into England on any terms, are equally difficult to understand. We have been led by these considerations to suspect the authenticity of the book in which it is related; † and a brief statement of the reasons which seem to impeach its authority will perhaps not be thought misplaced here.

It appears, in the first place, strange that the life of Alfred should have been written in his life time, when he was in the vigour of his age (in his forty-fifth year), and particularly by a man in the position of Asser. It is not easy to conceive for what purpose it was written, or to point out any parallel case; but it is still more difficult to imagine why (if Asser the biographer and Asser bishop of Sherborne be the same) its author, who lived nine years after Alfred's death, did not complete it. When we examine the book itself, we see at once that it does not support its own character; it has the appearance of an unskilful compilation of history and legend. Asser's life of Alfred consists of two very distinct parts; first, a chro-

* Nam sequentis temporis successu ex improviso dedit mihi Exanceastre, cum omni parochia quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia. Asser, p. 15.

† These suspicions were first published in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries.

nicle of events, strictly historical, from 851 to 887; and, secondly, a few personal anecdotes of Alfred, which are engrafted upon the chronicle at the years 866 and 884, without any particular reference to those years, and at the conclusion. No person can compare the first, or strictly historical part of the work, with the Saxon Chronicle, without being convinced that it is a mere translation from the corresponding part of that document, which was most probably not in existence till long after Alfred's death. Why the writer should discontinue his chronological entries at the year 887, when he distinctly states that he was writing in 893, does not appear, unless we may suppose that the copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle he used was mutilated, and reached no lower than that year.

The second part of the book, or the matter interpolated in the chronicle, evidently contains legendary matter which could not have been written in Alfred's time, or by his bishop Asser. The account he gives of Alfred's youth cannot be strictly true; it is impossible to believe that the education of the favourite child of king Ethelwulf, who was himself a scholar, should have been neglected, or that in the court where Swithun was the domestic adviser, he should want teachers. His early mission to Rome is a proof that such was not the case. Yet Asser states that Alfred complained that in his childhood, when he was desirous of learning, he could find no instructors.* There are several things in the book which are not consistent: on one occasion the writer quotes the authority of king Alfred for the story of the West-Saxon queen Eadburga, which must have been well known to all Alfred's subjects; † whilst in another place he goes to a legendary life of St. Neot for all the information relating to Alfred's

* Asser, p. 5.

† Asser, p. 3.

misfortunes at Athelney, which he has added to what is said in the Saxon Chronicle.* In the same manner he asserts in one place that king Alfred laboured under a painful disease, which never quitted him from the time of his marriage till his *fortieth* year, when he was miraculously relieved from it in consequence of his praying to St. Neot, after which he never suffered a relapse; † and in a subsequent page he says that the king still continued to suffer from it at the time he was writing, in his *forty-fifth* year, and that he had never been free from it an hour together.‡

There can be no doubt that the writer of this life of Alfred made use of a life of St. Neot. The story of Alfred and the peasant's wife is considered to be an interpolation in the original text, because it was omitted in the older manuscript; but even in that manuscript (the one printed by Matthew Parker) the reference to Neot remained in the words, *Et, ut in vita sancti patris Neoti legitur, apud quendam suum vaccarium.* There are also other allusions to this life of Neot. It is our firm conviction that there existed no life of Neot in the time of the real Asser. There is, on the contrary, every reason for believing that the life of St. Neot began to be written after his relics were carried into Huntingdonshire, in 974. In this case, the life of Alfred attributed to Asser cannot have been

* Id. p. 9.

† Et etiam huc usque quotidie cernentibus . . . tantam diuturnitatem a 20 ætatis suæ anno usque 40, et eo amplius annum per tanta annorum curricula incessanter protelasse . . . . Oratione autem finita cæptum iter arripuit, et non multo post tempore, ut in oratione depræcatus fuerat, se ab illo dolore medicatum esse divinitus sensit, ita ut funditus eradicaretur. Asser, p. 12.

‡ Nam a 20 ætatis anno usque ad 45, *quem nunc agit*, gravissima incogniti doloris infestatione incessanter fatigatus, ita ut ne unius quidem horæ securitatem habeat, qua aut illam infirmitatem non sustineat, aut sub illius formidine lugubriter prope constitutus non desperet. Asser, p. 17.

written before the end of the tenth century; and it was probably the work of a monk who, with no great knowledge of history, collected some of the numerous traditions relating to king Alfred which were then current, and joined them with the legends in the life of St. Neot, and the historical entries of the Saxon Chronicle; and, to give authenticity to his work, published it under the name of Asser. At the time when it was published, and when the Anglo-Saxons looked back to their great monarch with regret, it may have been intended to serve a political object. There is another work which bears Asser's name, itself a poor compilation from the Saxon Chronicle, but which is also described as a Chronicle of St. Neot's, though it is asserted that it ought to be called *Asseri Annales*. It is not impossible that the writer of both was a monk of St. Neot's, which would account for the frequent use of the life of St. Neot in the life of Alfred.

We have said that the writer of this life pretends that Alfred gave to him the whole parish (omnis parochia) of Exeter. We are inclined to think that the word *parochia* was at this time almost always applied to an episcopal diocese, and that the writer means to say that Alfred made him bishop of Exeter. This would explain another circumstance. It seems singular that, since Asser was known as Alfred's bishop, the writer of the biography should never allude to this mark of the royal favour; but, if our view of the case be right, we find that this writer knew he was a bishop, but, supposing he was not Asser of Sherborne, he makes him bishop of Exeter. It is just possible that Asser may have received the temporary office of bishop at Exeter; but it is more likely that the dignity was conferred upon him by some very ignorant monk, who wrote after that see was created, and given to Leofric. This would bring down the composition of the book to the reign of

Edward the Confessor. We are not aware that there was anything in the oldest manuscript to contradict this opinion; and the book may have had its use amid the politics of that reign.

If the suspicions of the authenticity of this biography be well founded, its historical value is considerably diminished, although it is not entirely destroyed. It contains interesting traditions relating to Alfred's life and character, many of which were without doubt true in substance; while our opinion of Alfred will be rather elevated, than lowered, by the right which is thus given us to separate the legendary matter from the truth.

There is nothing remarkable in the style of the book attributed to Asser; it is a common-place specimen of monkish Latin; and the account of Alfred's childhood will give as accurate a notion of it as any other part of the work.

Sed, ut more navigantium loquar, ne diutius navim undis et velamentis concedentes, et a terra longius enavigantes longum circumferamur inter tantas bellorum clades et annorum enumerationes, ad id quod nos maxime ad hoc opus incitavit nobis redeundum esse censeo: scilicet aliquantulum, quantum meæ cognitioni innotuit, de infantilibus et puerilibus domini mei venerabilis Ælfredi Angulsaxonum regis moribus hoc in loco breviter inserendum esse existimo. Nam cum communi et ingenti patris sui et matris amore supra omnes fratres suos, immo ab omnibus nimium diligeretur, et in regio semper curto inseparabiliter nutriretur, accrescente infantili et puerili ætate, forma cæteris suis fratribus decentior videbatur, vultuque et verbis atque moribus gratiosior. Cui ab incunabulis ante omnia et cum omnibus præsentis vitæ studiis sapientiæ desiderium cum nobilitate generis, nobilis mentis ingenium supplevit. Sed (proh dolor) indigna suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria usque ad duodecimum ætatis annum aut eo amplius illiteratus permansit. Sed Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor relatu aliorum sæpissime audiens, docibilis memoriter retinebat: in omni venatoria arte industrius venator incessabiliter laborat non in vanum. Nam incomparabilis omnibus peritia et felicitate in illa arte, sicut et in cæteris omnibus Dei donis fuit, sicut et nos sæpissime vidimus. Cum ergo quodam die mater sua sibi et fratribus suis quendam Saxonicum poematicæ artis librum quem in manu habebat ostenderet, ait: "Quisquis vestrum discere citius istum codicem possit, dabo illi illum." Qua voce immo divina inspiratione instinctus, et pulchritudine principalis litteræ illius libri

illectus, ita matri respondens, et fratres suos ætate quamvis non gratia seniores anticipans, inquit: "Verene dabis istum librum uni ex nobis, scilicet illi qui citissime intelligere et recitare eum ante te possit?" Ad hæc illa arridens et gaudens atque affirmans, "dabo," infit, "illi." Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua, magistrum adiit et legit. Quo lecto matri retulit et recitavit. Post hæc cursum diurnum, id est celebrationes horarum, ac deinde psalmos quosdam et orationes multas, quos in uno libro congregatos in sinu suo die noctuque sicut ipsi vidimus secum inseparabiliter orationis gratia inter omnia præsentis vitæ curricula ubique circumducebat.

Bale and Pits,* without any authority, state that Asser was the author of several other works, among which they specify A Collection of Golden Sentences (Aurearum Sententiarum Enchiridion), and books of Homilies and Epistles.

Editions of Asser.

Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ, fol. (1574, London.) Asser, with the preface to Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastorale, published by Matthew Parker.

Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta, &c. ex Bibliotheca Guilielmi Camdeni. Fol. Francofurti, 1602, fol. ib. 1603, pp. 1—21. Asserus de Ælfredi Rebus Gestis.

Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores XV. ex Vetustis Codd. MSS. editi opera Thomæ Gale. fol. Oxon. 1691, pp. 141—175. Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti, sive Annales Joan. Asserii, ut nonnullis videtur.

Annales Rerum Gestarum Ælfredi Magni, auctore Asserio Menevensi, recensuit Franciscus Wise, A.M. Coll. Trin. Soc. 8vo. Oxonii, 1722.

ALFRED'S BISHOPS.

Plegmund.—Werferth.—Denewulf.

We have seen that king Alfred, in the Preface to his translation of the Pastorale, boasts that all his bishoprics were then occupied by learned men, that is, by men who were well acquainted with the Latin language. Of these the most distinguished was Plegmund,† archbishop of Canterbury. We know little of Plegmund's personal

* These bibliographers give him the name of Johannes Asser, and state that at St. David's he was the disciple of Johannes Scotus!

† William of Malmsbury calls him *Pleimundus*.

history, except that he was by birth a Mercian,* and that whilst his countrymen were suffering under the persecutions of the Danes, he found some place of retirement where he was permitted to indulge his love of learning in tranquillity. According to Gervase of Dover, who probably speaks after a tradition current in his time, the place of his retreat was an island in Cheshire, named from him Plegmundesham, where he lived some years a hermit.† His learning attracted the notice of Alfred, who invited him to his court, and made him archbishop of Canterbury (or, as it was then called, of Dover), in 890.‡ Plegmund was one of the learned men at the court of Wessex who appears to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alfred's esteem and confidence. William of Malmsbury calls him "king Alfred's master;" § and the king himself mentions first in the list of his teachers "my archbishop Plegmund."

Plegmund's name does not occur again in history till the reign of Edward the Elder. It appears that Alfred, in his later years, for some reason with which we are not acquainted, had left the kingdom of the West Saxons destitute of bishops. In the third year of his successor (A.D. 904), pope 'Formosus' addressed letters of excommunication to king Edward, because no bishops had been appointed over the West Saxons during seven years. The king immediately called together the Witan-gemote, and Plegmund, who presided, read the pope's bull. It was determined, in order to conciliate the pope, not only to fill immediately the vacant sees, but to increase their

* Asser, Vit. Ælfr. p. 14.

† Successit Plegmundus, qui in Cestriæ insula quæ dicitur ab incolis Plegmundesham, per annos multos eremiticam duxerat vitam. Gervasius Dorobernensis, Act. Pontif. Cant. ap. Dec. Script. col. 1644.

‡ Saxon Chron. sub an.

§ Magister Elfredi regis. W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pontif. p. 200.

number; and the two dioceses into which Wessex had previously been divided, were now subdivided into five.* Plegmund was sent to Rome to present the resolution to the pope, who was highly gratified by this mark of subserviency, and withdrew his sentence of excommunication. On his return to England, Plegmund ordained seven bishops in one day, in the church of Winchester; Frithestan bishop of Winchester, Werstan bishop of Sherborne, Athelstan bishop of Wilton, Athelm bishop of Wells, Eadulf bishop of Crediton, Bernege bishop of Sussex, and Cenwulf bishop of Dorchester.† According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, Plegmund died in 923.

Although the old bibliographers admit the name of Plegmund into their catalogues of English writers, they do not mention the title of any book attributed to him. More recently an attempt has been made to show that Plegmund was the author of the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, at least so much of it as preceded the year 890, when he was made archbishop of Canterbury; and it has even been pretended that he compiled it by the direction of king Alfred. This supposition however appears to be founded on very insufficient grounds; and there does not seem to be any substantial reason for supposing that any part of the Chronicle was composed at so early a date.

Of Werferth, who also merited Alfred's especial favour by his literary acquirements, we know less than of Plegmund. He was elected to the bishopric of the Wiccii (Worcester), on the 7th July, 873; ‡ and after Alfred's

* The old sees were Winchester and Sherborne; three new ones were now added, Wilton, Wells, and Crediton.

† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. pp. 47, 48. Godwin has rightly observed that there must be an error in William of Malmsbury, as pope Formosus died in 896. There is a further mistake; Asser, and after him Ethelward, preceded Werstan in the see of Sherborne, and Asser did not die till 910. Perhaps the error is in the date.

‡ Annales Wigorn. in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. i. p. 471.

final triumph over the Danes, that monarch invited him to his court, and employed him in translating into Anglo-Saxon the Dialogues of pope Gregory.* He is one of the bishops mentioned in king Alfred's will.† He appears to have died in 915.‡ The only copy of Werferth's translation of the Dialogues of St. Gregory now known to exist, is among the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 322, written apparently in the eleventh century. It ought to be included in an edition of king Alfred's Works.

One of the most remarkable of Alfred's bishops, if we believe the story preserved by William of Malmsbury, was Denewulf. We are told that he was originally a swineherd; and that the king, when he was compelled to take shelter in the wilds of Athelney, met him as he was feeding his swine in the woods, and, entering into conversation with him, was astonished at the display of his natural talents. When the entire subjection of the Danes had given him leisure to attend to the internal arrangement of his kingdom, he brought Denewulf from his obscurity and gave him good teachers, under whose care he made such extraordinary proficiency in literature and learning that Alfred rewarded him with the bishopric of Winchester.§ Other writers have so far improved upon William of Malmsbury's story, as to make Denewulf the herdsman in whose cottage the king had taken refuge. If Malmsbury's story concerning the vacancy of the see of Wessex be true, and the date correct, Denewulf must have died about the year 897. His name occurs in authentic lists of the bishops of Winchester; but his story was evidently unknown to the writer of Asser's Life of Alfred.

* Asser, Vit. Ælf. p. 14. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

† See the passage of the will quoted at p. 406 of the present volume.

‡ Annales Wigorn, p. 472. Bale places his death in 911.

§ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 242.

GRIMBALD AND JOHN.

The foreign scholars whom Alfred invited to England, although men of learning, appear to have enjoyed no great celebrity. Of Grimbald we should have known little more than his name,* had it not been introduced into a legend relating to the origin of the University of Oxford. Grimbald was originally a monk of St. Bertin, in France. He was in that monastery in the first year of the reign of Charles le Gros † (A.D. 884), soon after which date he appears to have been sent over to England, in accordance with Alfred's desire. A letter from the bishop of Rheims, in answer to one from king Alfred, and recommending Grimbald to that monarch for his learning and probity, has been printed from a MS. at Winchester, but is of very doubtful authenticity.‡ The anonymous life mentioned by Leland, stated that Asser was sent to bring him to England. On his arrival in England, Alfred made him abbot of the new monastery at Winchester.§ The Saxon Chronicle states that he died in 903.

The legend of the foundation of the University of Oxford by king Alfred appears to be now entirely exploded. According to an interpolated passage in a life of Neot, Grimbald was made professor in the new university.|| A passage in the copy of Asser from which Camden printed, and which is clearly an interpolation, states that in the

* Leland, de Script. Brit. vol. i. p. 156, quotes an anonymous Vita Grimbaldi, which does not appear to be now extant. To judge by his quotation, it was probably a modern legend.

† Mabillon, in the Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. part ii. p. 511.

‡ See Alford, Annal. in an. 885.

§ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 44.

|| See before, p. 383, of the present volume.

year 886, there arose a great dispute in the University between the old scholars and the new ones (Grimbald and his foreigners), and that, Grimbald having complained to Alfred, the king hastened to Oxford, and pacified the scholars; but Grimbald, who had built the church of St. Peter in that town, and had constructed a crypt underneath it in which he intended to be buried, was so disgusted at their quarrelsome temper, that he left the place altogether, and retired to his monastery at Winchester.* A further interpolation in a copy of Asser used by Bryan Twyne, said that the church when built was consecrated by the bishop of Dorchester. The ancient crypt of the church is still in existence, and has received the popular name of Grimbald's Crypt.

Of the origin of Alfred's other "mass-priest," or presbyter, John, we are also ignorant. Asser says that he was a native of Old-Saxony; † and Mabillon argues with an air of great probability that he was a monk of Corvei, in France, which was frequented by the scholars of that nation.‡ Alfred made him abbot of Athelney, which is said by Asser to have been filled with French monks, one of whom, in revenge for some supposed injury or severity, hired two assassins to murder his superior.§

* Asser, Vit. Ælf. p. 16.

† Asser, Vit. Ælf. p. 18. Ealdsaxonum genere.

‡ Mabillon, Acta SS. Ordinis St. Bened. Sæc. iv. part ii. p. 509.

§ Asser, Vit. Ælf. pp. 18, 19.

JOHANNES SCOTUS.

William of Malmsbury appears to have confounded John of Corvei with his much more celebrated contemporary, Johannes Scotus, called by some writers, from his native country, Erigena; and has applied to the latter, in another form, the legend concerning the death of the abbot John, which is mentioned above. He says that his scholars in the monastery were so much incensed at the severity of their teacher, that they rose against him, and stabbed him to death with their writing instruments.*

Johannes Scotus was a native of Ireland,† and was one of the numerous monks of that country settled in France. Although one of the most remarkable men of his age, very little is known of his personal history; a circumstance which has afforded room for the invention of numerous fables. At what period he settled in France is not known; but he was at one time the friend of Prudentius bishop of Troyes, which must have been previous to 847, when that prelate attacked his book on predestination.‡ The writers of his life in the Histoire Littéraire de France state that he never entered sacred orders or took any theological degree. He was deeply read in what were then considered "profane" books, and was one of the few scholars of his time who pursued the study of the Greek language to any extent. His adversaries accused him of ignorance in theology; but he was a skilful logician and controversialist, and had imbibed by the perusal of some of the Greek Fathers a considerable taint of the Platonism of the school

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

† Several writers have very absurdly interpreted the title *Erigena* as meaning a native of Aire in Scotland.

‡ Hist. Lit. de France, tom. v. p. 417.

of Alexandria. He thus became one of the founders of the philosophic school of the Realists, who attracted so much attention in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The doctrines of Scotus gave less umbrage to the Church at the time they were published, than when they were brought forward in the scholastic disputes of a later period; yet his free opinions found many warm opponents among his contemporaries. His first important book, the treatise on Predestination, written at the desire of two ecclesiastics, Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, and Pardulfus bishop of Laons, and in which he denies the doctrine of a double predestination, and asserts that God had only preordained a reward for the good, and that sin and its final punishment were produced by the exertion of man's own free-will, was bitterly attacked by his former friend Prudentius, and by Florus, a deacon of the church of Laon. His next work, written before 859, was his treatise de Eucharistia, in which it appears certain that he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, asserting that the bread and wine were not the real body and blood of Christ, but only memorial or symbolical of them (tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus).* This treatise does not appear to be now extant; although one bearing a similar title has been published with his name. It is probable that at this time the doctrine alluded to was sustained only by a portion of the Church; and Scotus had obtained a powerful protector against his opponents. His great learning, and literary talents, had gained for him the friendship of Charles le Chauve, king of the Franks, who admitted him to his table and made him the friend of his private hours; and it is said that he composed the treatise last mentioned at that monarch's request.

* Hist. Lit. de France, tom. v. p. 425.

It is more certain that the king ordered him to undertake the translation into Latin of the Greek writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which was published about the year 867, a work which had a very important effect upon the philosophy of the middle ages. This book is prefaced by the following verses addressed to his royal protector, which will show, in the use of such words as libam (λοιβὴν), spendo, technas, &c. that his style was, like that of Aldhelm and the writers of his time, strongly influenced by his Greek studies. It was perhaps from a misapprehension of these lines that some of the old writers were led to believe that Johannes Scotus had studied at Athens.

Hanc libam, sacro Græcorum nectare fartam,
  Advena Joannes spendo meo Carolo.
Maxime Francigenum, cui regia stemmata fulgent,
  Munera votiferi sint tibi grata tui.
Vos qui Romuleas nescitis temnere technas,
  Attica ne pigeat sumere gymnasia.
Quorum si quædam per me scintilla relucet
  Usibus Ausoniis, si libet aspicite.
Mollestum si non nostrum munire laborem,
  Firmetur vestri pondere judicii.
Si quid nodosum durumve notetur in ipso,
  Parcite, Cecropidis Attica tela sequor.
At si mendosus declinet tramite recto,
  Mellifluo vestro famine corrigite.
Quod si quorundam mordetur dente feroci,
  Hoc leve, namque meo contigit Hieronymo.
Ut vero stabilis maneat fundamine firmo,
  Regali stathmo figere sufficiet.
Crediderim multos tangentum summa sophiæ
  Non despecturos donula nostra fore.
Sudorisque gravis tentabunt carpere fructum;
  Forsan virtutem vilia verba tenent,
Sæpe solent spinis redolentes crescere flores,
  Nodosæ vitis sumitur uva ferax.

Dionysius was looked upon as one of the Fathers of the Church, and therefore to a certain degree unexceptionable; but the opponents of Scotus attacked the translation;

they said that it was translated too literally, so as often to be unintelligible or liable to be misunderstood; and they represented it as ridiculous that a barbarian from the extreme edge of the world should understand Greek.* The pope (Nicholas I.) wrote a threatening letter to the king, stating his surprise that such a work should be published without having first been submitted to the usual approbation of the papal censure, particularly when written by a man already suspected of heresy; for some of his opinions had been condemned in the councils of Lyons in 853, of Valencia in 855, and of Langres in 859.

It is said that Johannes Scotus, in consequence of the papal letter, retired for a while from the court of France; but this is by no means certain. He seems to have continued to enjoy Charles's protection to the end of his life; and he wrote and published several other works, the most remarkable of which was the treatise De Divisione Naturæ, to which he gave the Greek title *περί φύσεων μερισμοῦ*. Of this book, which has been printed, the opinions of the old writers were much divided: † he supports in it the doctrine that after the resurrection, the corporeal body, in its reunion with the soul, will be changed into a spiritual body. Among other works, he translated the Greek scholia of Maximus on Gregory of Nazianzen, a fragment of which is printed in Gale's edition of the treatise De Divisione Naturæ; and wrote a homily on the commencement of St. John, which is preserved in manuscript.‡

* Mirandum est quoque vir ille barbarus (qui in finibus mundi positus, quanto ab hominibus conversatione, tanto credi potuit alterius linguæ dictione, longinquius) talia intellectu capere in aliamque linguam transferre valuerit. The letter of Anastasius to king Charles, in Usher's Epist. Hib. Syl. p. 65.

† See the opinion of the theologians of the end of the twelfth century stated in Roger de Hoveden, Annal. p. 419.

‡ See Hist. Lit. de Fr. v., pp. 428, 429, where there is an account of the

Scholars seem agreed in attributing to him the treatise on the difference and conformity of the Greek and Latin verbs, which has been published as a work of Macrobius. A work entitled De Visione Dei, bearing his name, is likewise said to exist. The authenticity of other books attributed to him by old bibliographers is extremely doubtful. Johannes Scotus was not only a free thinker, but also a free speaker, and some of his sayings were preserved by tradition ages after his death. It is said that on one occasion, when he and the king were sitting on opposite sides of the table, surrounded by the French courtiers, Charles, observing that Scotus had done something which was repugnant to the ideas of the latter, asked him jokingly what was the difference between *Scotus* and *Sotus,*—a Scot and a sot? to which the philosopher immediately answered, "The width of the table only." At another time, the king gave him a plate containing two great fishes and a very little one, to be shared between himself and two clerks who were remarkable for their stature and corpulence. Scotus was a man remarkable for his diminutive stature. He took the two large fish for himself, and gave the small one to be shared between his companions; and when the king expressed his surprise at this mode of distributing them, he asserted that they were fairly divided; for, said he, "Are there not here on one part two great ones and a little one, and also two great ones and a little one there?" *

There appears to be no reason for believing that Johannes Scotus ever quitted France. A tradition prevailed in the twelfth century that he had spent the latter years of his life in England, but it appears to have arisen from a

other works of this writer, written by one who was strongly prejudiced against them on account of the support which they seemed to lend to the doctrines of the Reformers.

* These stories will be found in Roger de Hoveden, p. 419.

confusion between him and John of Corvei. Some writers suppose that he retired to England in consequence of the letter of pope Nicholas, mentioned above; but we find him in France at a later period (in 872), and he is supposed to have died there a short time before the death of his royal protector in 877. The English chroniclers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries represent him as coming to England after the death of Charles le Chauve; and they say that he found a new patron in king Alfred; that he was employed by that monarch in his schools; and that he finally retired to Malmsbury, where he established a school, and where he was murdered by his scholars.* In proof of the accuracy of this story, William of Malmsbury adduces the following epitaph, which he says was to be seen on his tomb at Malmsbury in the twelfth century,—

> Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Johannes,
> Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro.
> Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
> Quo, meruit, sancti regnant per sæcula cuncti.

There can be little doubt, however, that these chroniclers confounded with one another several persons of the name of John.

Perhaps the best specimen of the language and style of this celebrated philosopher is furnished by the opening paragraph of his treatise on predestination, in which he gives his definition of philosophy.

> Cum omnis piæ perfectæque doctrinæ modus, quo omnium rerum ratio, et studiosissime quæritur, et apertissime invenitur, in ea disciplina quæ a Græcis Philosophia solet vocari, sit constitutus, de ejus divisionibus seu partitionibus quædam breviter edisserere necessarium duximus. Sic enim (ut ait Sanctus Augustinus) creditur et docetur quod est humanæ salutis caput, non aliam esse philosophiam, id est sapientiæ studium, et aliam religionem, cum hi quorum doctrinam non approbamus, nec sacramenta nobiscum communicant. Quid est aliud de philosophia tractare nisi veræ religionis, qua summa ac principalis omnium rerum causa Deus et humiliter colitur, et ra-

* Roger de Hoveden, p. 419. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 45.

tionabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur inde veram esse philosophiam veram religionem, conversimque veram religionam esse veram philosophiam, quæ dum multifariam diversisque modis dividitur, bis binas tamen partes principales ad omnem quæstionem solvendam necessarias habere dinoscitur, quas Græcis placuit nominare Διαιρετικη, Οριστικη, Αποδεκτικη, Αναλυτικη, easdemque Latialiter possumus dicere Divisoriam, Diffinitivam, Demonstrativam, Resolutivam. Quarum enim prima unum in multa dividendo segregat: secunda unum de multis diffiniendo colligit: tertia per manifesta occulta demonstrando operit: quarta composita in simplicia separando resolvit. Earum etiam exemplo in processu hujus operis, quantum ipsa lux quæ illuminat cor quærentium se nobis aditum rerum quas conamur ingredi aperuerit, ostendemus. His enim, tanquam utili quodam, honestoque humanæ ratiocinationis quadruvio ad ipsam disputandi disciplinam, quæ est veritas, omnis in ea eruditus perveniri non dubitat.

Editions of Johannes Scotus.

The Translation of the Cœlestis Hierarchia, and other pieces, of Dionysius, was printed with the works of Hugo de S. Victore; and with other Latin versions of Dionysius, at Cologne, in fol. 1530 and 1536.

Excerpta de Differentiis et Societatibus Græci Latinique Verbi. Printed in several editions of Macrobius.

Usher, Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge. 4to. Dublin, 1632, pp. 37—68. 4to. Herbornæ Nassov. 1696. pp. 54—65.—The two dedications of the translation of Dionysius to Charles the Bald, and the letter of Anastatius.

Veterum Auctorum qui IX. Sæculo de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt Opera et Fragmenta . . . cura et studio Gilberti Mauguin. 4to. Lutetiæ Paris. 1650. tom. i. pp. 103—190. Liber Joannis Scoti, seu Erigenæ, de Divina Prædestinatione, contra Goteschalcum monachum. —pp. 191—562. The treatise of St. Prudentius against Scotus.—pp. 575—738. The answer of Florus to Scotus.

Libri quinque de Divisione Naturæ. Accedunt Ambigua S. Maximi, seu scholia ejus in difficiles locos S. Greg. Naz. Ed. Thomas Gale. fol. Oxon. 1681.

De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. 8vo. London, 1686. It had previously been printed in 1558, 1560, and 1653. This is supposed to be wrongly attributed to Johannes Scotus.

Section V.—Tenth Century.

HUCARIUS AND ERCOMBERT.

The earlier part of the tenth century offers no literary names of any importance. Bale and Pits refer to this period a Cornish deacon named Hucarius, who composed a hundred and eight homilies, which were extant in Leland's time in Canterbury College, (now Christ Church,) Oxford, but which appear to be no longer in existence. In the prologue to this book, Hucarius stated his name and country, but nothing more is known of him. He had given an abridgment of the constitutions of Egbert, as an introduction to the homilies.

It is possible that about this period lived another writer mentioned by Bale and Pits, named Ercombert, said to have been a monk of Glastonbury, and to have written two tracts on Grammar.

ALDRED THE GLOSSATOR.

In the first half of the tenth century is believed to have flourished a priest named Aldred, who is known only by his name being attached to two Anglo-Saxon Glosses, for there seems little room for doubting that the two names belong to the same person. The first of these glosses is contained in the celebrated Durham Book (MS. Cotton. Nero, D. iv.); the other in the Durham Ritual recently printed by the Surtees Society. In the former of these books, the glossator has merely mentioned his name with those of the other persons who had written or ornamented the

book; * but in the ritual he has inserted a note from which we learn that he was then with bishop Alfsige "in his tent near South Woodgate at Acley in Wessex," and that he there wrote for the bishop the four collects which precede this entry.† We have no information of any council held at Acley during the tenth century; but there were two bishops of the name, Alfsige bishop of Winchester (951—958), and Alfsige the last bishop of Chester-le-Street (968—990). It has been supposed that the person alluded to by Aldred is the latter; but the question is very obscure. Aldred was evidently a native of Northumberland, and in the passage in the Ritual he calls himself 'provost.' The following verses of the Gospel of St. Luke (Luke, i. 6, 7), from the Durham Book, will give the reader the best idea of the character of these glosses.

Wæs in dagum Herodes cyniges Judee sacerd sum
Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Judaeae sacerdos quidam
mið noma of lond Abia ך wif ðæm oððe him of dohterum
nomine Zacharias de vice Abia, et uxor illi de filiabus
Aaron, ך noma his Elisabeth.
Aron, et nomen ejus Elisabet.

Woeron uūt soð-fæsto boego fore Gode færendo in al-
Erant autem justi ambo ante Deum incedentes in om-
lum bodum ך soðfæstnissum Drihtnes buta gnornunge.
nibus mandatis et justificationibus Domini sine quaerella.

Edition.

Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis. Nunc primum typis mandatum. 8vo. London, 1840. Published by the Surtees Society, and edited by Mr. J. Stevenson.

* MS. Cotton. Nero, D. IV. fol. 138, v°.

† Be Suðan Wudigan-Gæte æt Aclee on West-Sæxum on Laurentius mæssan-dægi on Wodnes-dægi Ælfsige ðæm biscópe in his ge-télde Aldred se profast ðas feower collectæ on fif næht ald[ne] mona ær underne aurat. Saxon Ritual, p. 185.

ODO.*

This remarkable man was born of Danish parents. His father was one of the chieftains who accompanied Hinguar and Hubba in the destructive invasion of the northern hordes in 870; and, with the worst prejudices of those ferocious barbarians, he disinherited his child and drove him from his home, because he had been guilty of listening to the Christian preachers. Odo fled to the house of one of king Alfred's nobles, named Athulf or Ethelwulf, who adopted and protected him, and gave him teachers under whose care he attained to great proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages, and became eminent for the facility with which he composed either prose or verse.† After having undergone the rite of baptism, Odo received the tonsure, and was raised to the dignity of sub-deacon, in which degree during several years he merited the respect of his patron and the great men of king Alfred's court by his learning and the sanctity of his life. When Athulf obtained the king's licence to visit Rome, he carried Odo with him, who then, according to his biographer Osbern,‡ had attained to the degree of presbyter. This, however, appears to be an error; for it is pro-

* The life of Odo, or, as the name is more frequently spelt in Anglo-Saxon, Oda, was written at the end of the eleventh century by a monk of Canterbury named Osbern, whose work is printed in the Acta SS. Ordinis S. Benedicti, Sæc. V. p. 287, and in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 78. The latter edition is used in the present work. Osbern's narrative contains several historical errors. The sketch of Odo's life by William of Malmsbury, in the Gest. Episc. differs much from that by Osbern, and is evidently founded on other authorities.

† Deinde Græca et Latina lingua magistris edocendum tradidit . . . factus quoque est in utraque lingua valde gnarus, ita ut posset poemata fingere, prosam continuare, et omnino quicquid ei animo sederet luculentissimo sermone proferre. Osbern. Vit. Odonis, p. 79.

‡ Osbern. Vit. Odonis, p. 79.

bable that he was born some time after his father settled (with the other Danes who had been defeated by Alfred) in East-Anglia, and therefore he could not have reached the requisite age; and William of Malmsbury tells us that, before he took clerical orders, he had served as a soldier along with Edward the Elder in some of his warlike expeditions.*

It is certain that Odo enjoyed without interruption the friendship of king Edward, and afterwards of king Ethelstan, by whose favour he succeeded Ethelstan in the bishopric of Wiltun, one of the sees into which the larger diocese of Sherborne had been divided. He was one of the bishops who were with the last mentioned king at the great battle of Brunanburgh in 938, and his military abilities conduced in some degree to obtain that decisive victory.† The battle began in the night, when the Danes surprised the English camp; and when, in the confusion and hurry of the first attack, Ethelstan lost his sword and was exposed unarmed in the middle of the combat, it was bishop Odo who furnished him with a weapon and encouraged him by his exhortations.‡ Ethelstan soon found an opportunity of rewarding him for his services on this occasion, for on the death of Wulfhelm archbishop of Canterbury, he promoted him to the archiepiscopal see.§ After Ethelstan's death, Odo continued in favour with his two successors, Edmund and Edred. He accompanied the

* Ipse cæteris vel abeuntibus vel extinctis Edwardo aliquandiu militans, nec multo post comam tonsus clericatum professus fuerat. W. Malmsb. De Gest. Pontif. p. 200.

† Perhaps he was the author of the prayer on that occasion which is preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the British Museum, and is printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, ii. p. 180.

‡ W. Malmsb. De Gest. Pontif. ib. The story is told a little differently by Osbern, Vit. Odo. p. 80.

§ W. Malmsb. ib. Osbern, p. 81, says Edmund made him archbishop of Canterbury.

former in an expedition to Northumbria, on which occasion he disinterred the bones of Wilfred from beneath the ruins of Ripon, in order to transfer them to Canterbury.

As archbishop of Canterbury, Odo was distinguished by the zeal with which he advocated the rigid system of monachism then prevalent in France. Previous to his time, the Anglo-Saxon church had been administered chiefly by the secular clergy. It is said that Odo accepted the see of Canterbury with reluctance;* before his consecration, he went to Fleury, then the centre of monachism, to take the habit of the order from the hands of the abbot of that place,† and he was the active assistant of Ethelwold and Dunstan in their efforts to replace the secular clergy by monks in the religious houses in England. During the reign of Edred, the influence of Odo and Dunstan had given to the palace itself the severe air of a monastery, and they attempted to insure their influence on the accession of the young and luxurious Edwy. The new king rejected the councils of the aged advisers of his father and uncle, to follow those of his youthful associates; and the bishop, to use the expression of his biographer, became his enemy. Edwy had married Alfgiva, the daughter of a noble matron named Ethelgiva (who it appears was allied by blood to the royal family), and was affectionately attached to his young wife. Odo and Dunstan appear to have been jealous of her influence, and to have conceived that she was instrumental in drawing her husband from their sober counsels. At his coronation feast, the king quitted the hall where his nobles were seated, to visit his queen and mother-in-law in their chamber. When Edwy's absence was perceived in the

* Osbern. Vit. Odon. p. 82.

† W. Malmsb. ib. Osbern says he only sent messengers to bring him the habit.

hall, archbishop Odo expressed in strong terms his resentment at the disrespect which the king had shown to them, in preferring the society of a woman to that of his father's counsellors; and Dunstan, whose zeal was inflamed by his example, left the room and bursting rudely into the chamber of the ladies, insulted both the mother and the daughter with gross imputations, and dragged the young king along the passage into the hall. In revenge for this indignity, Edwy not only banished Dunstan from the kingdom, but he extended his hatred to the monks, whom he looked upon as his accomplices.*

The Saxon Chronicle places the banishment of Dunstan in 956. Odo remained, and stood resolute in supporting the monks. Not daring at once to attack the young king, he singled out the queen as the object of his vengeance; and, armed with the pontifical authority, he declared that the marriage of Edwy and Alfgiva was unlawful, because it was within the prohibited degrees of kindred.† In 958, two years after Dunstan's banishment, the archbishop annulled the marriage; and then, not content with this, he seized upon the beautiful Alfgiva, ordered her face to be seared with red-hot irons, and then sent her to Ireland, probably as a slave. She remained in Ireland a short time, till the scars on her face were so far healed that she had recovered her beauty, and then she made her escape and came to Gloucester. She was discovered there by Odo's emissaries, who treated her with so much cruelty, that a few days afterwards she expired amid excruciating torments. The monkish historians have blackened the character of Alfgiva and her mother

* Osbern. Vit. Od. and the Lives of Dunstan. Retulit ille vicem in monachos totius Britanniæ furibunda bacchatus. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Episc. p. 201.

† Saxon Chron. sub an. 958. Her on þissum geare Oda arcebiscop totwæmde Eadwi cyning ⁊ Ælfgyfe, for þæm þe hi wæron to ge-sybbe.

by unmanly calumnies.* When Edwy, still a mere youth, attempted to resist the violence of his ecclesiastics, Odo formed a conspiracy against him and deprived him of the larger portion of his kingdom, all England north of the Thames being given to his brother Edgar. Edwy survived the partition of his kingdom but a few months; he died before the end of the year 959. Odo himself died in 961,† on the second of June.

The political history of this period is extremely obscure, and it is now difficult to form an impartial judgment of Odo's actions. In the early monkish historians he is distinguished by the epithet of The Good (Oda se Goda), which was first applied to him by Dunstan. Soon after he was promoted to the archbishopric he raised the cathedral church of Canterbury from its ruins. He appears to have been a patron of letters, and we have the testimony of his contemporaries that he was a good scholar and an able writer; but the only fragment of his compositions, which now remains, is an introductory epistle found in some manuscripts of Fridegode's Life of Wilfred.‡ The style of this letter is remarkably harsh and inflated, as may be seen by the following extract.

Sagax humanæ curiositatis industria dum jugiter aggeratim sibi provideat labilia, adeo plerumque protelatur philanthropia, ut intransmeabiles naturæ metas insolenter præteriens undecunque et jam inficiando conquirendum fore præordinet. Etenim ex quo Paradisi terrestris primicola viperina minus præsensit eludia, dilatoque mortis compendio debita moleste cœpit afflictari solertia, insopibili fere mundialis enormitas grassatur parsimonia, unde et obstinatioris parcitatis silvescente propagine, fasque nefasque interdum non

* All the biographers of Dunstan and Odo represent Alfgiva as being the king's concubine, and not his queen, and represent her mother as administering to Edwy's passions. The proofs that these calumnies were false is perfectly satisfactory. See Lappenberg, Gesch. von Engl. i. p. 399.

† Saxon Chron. sub an. Her ge-wat Odo se goda arcebiscop. Some more modern authorities in Wharton place his death earlier, but they appear to be incorrect.

‡ Printed in the Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 50. Odo's Canons are printed in the Concilia by Wilkins.

admodum discrete compaginat. Enimvero nobis inenacuabili veritatis testudine galeatis congruit normalibus agenda rubricare methodiis, eatenus præcipue, ut cœnulenti floccipendentes lucra commercii, propheticis concentibus studeamus aptari. Mihi autem dicentes, adhærere Deo bonum est. Qua in re ex diametro connectatur, non ei famulari non bonum est. Siquidem quorsum hæ velint evadere minutiæ, hujusce miscello brachilexii contignabo.

FRIDEGODE.

FRIDEGODE was a monk of Dover, one of the literary men patronised by Odo of Canterbury; his name would probably have been forgotten, if he had not been chosen by his patron to write in heroic verse the life of Wilfrid, in 956, when Odo conveyed the relics of that saint from Northumbria to Canterbury. The writer of the life of Oswald states that Fridegode was Oswald's teacher (magister), and that he was considered one of the wisest men of his time in divine and secular learning.* The old bibliographers attribute to Fridegode several other works, 1. The Life of St. Audoenus; 2. a Treatise de muliere peccatrice in Evangelio; 3. De Hierusalem supra; 4. De visione beatorum; 5. Contemplationes variæ. It is said that the second of these tracts began with the words *Dum pietate multimoda Deus,* and the third with the words *Cives cœlestis patriæ.*

Fridegode's life of Wilfrid (which for the matter it contains is a mere metrical version of Eddius Stephanus) is extant, and answers fully to the description given of it by William of Malmsbury, that it was so full of Greek words as to require frequently the skill of a Sibyl to interpret it.†

* Eadmer, Vit. Oswald. in Angl. Sac. ii. p. 193. Qui in divinis ac sæcularibus disciplinis quosque sui temporis sapientes præcellere putabatur.

† Executus est id munus Fridegodus quidam versibus non ita improbandis, nisi quod Latinitatem perosus Græcitatem amat, Græcula verba frequentat, ut merito dictis ejus aptetur illud Plautinum,

Hæc quidem præter Sibyllam leget nemo.

W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 200

In this respect Fridegode appears to have followed the taste of his patron Odo. The following description of the consecration of the new church of Ripon will show that this observation was not unfounded.

Crescit summa viri, crescit dilectio sancti,
Virtutum genitrix almorum florida nutrix.
Non igitur cœptum dissolvit dexia votum,
Picria neve tulit, seu dissologia rupit,
Theosopho spirans animo cognata synergus
Oppida diffuso Hripis amplificare colurno.
Illic planata decusatim vomere terra,
Symmetriis perpendiculo perfecte libratis,
Ecclesiam statuit, talamum Christoque dicavit.
Tandem post paucas ornatis rebus imeras
Convenere duces, necnon basileïa pubes,
Tristatæ comites, vulgi promiscua strages,
Ecclesiæ proceres ædem pro more beantes,
Ornarunt altare Petri sub honore canori.
Stans in cancellis dat cunctis sperma salutis,
Regibus edixit, repetitaque rura recepit,
Verbo necne cibo triduo turbam satiavit.
Optima quæque dedit libens exenia miris
Deflorata modis, capsa cibus atque gemellis
Codex aurato conseptus grammate scriptus,
Auctus evangelicum servans in corpore textum.
Cumque benignivolo persolveret omnia corde,
Inflatur nullo Jesu moderamine typho.
Quapropter merita donatus digne chorea
Floruit, ut quondam Moysi sub tempore lampas,
Pandens æternæ callem patriamque quietis,
Atque domos sibimet superæ regionis amicas.

Edition of Fridegode.

Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti in Sæculorum Classes distributa. Sæculum III. pars prima, fol. Luteciæ Paris. 1672. pp. 171—196. Fridegode's Life of Wilfrid, from an imperfect MS. at Corvei.—Ib. Sæc. IV. pars prima, pp. 722—726, the part of the poem wanting in the previous edition, from a MS. in England.

ETHELWOLD.*

Ethelwold, whom his contemporaries and followers have designated as the "father of monks," was a native of Winchester, the son of a noble citizen of that place.† He was born in the reign of Edward the Elder, and therefore not later than the year 925; and was trained to learning from his childhood. While very young, he was taken to court, and his talents and many good qualities obtained for him the favour of king Ethelstan, and of the learned men who enjoyed the friendship of that monarch; he received the tonsure at the hand of the first Alfheh, bishop of Winchester. Ethelwold appears to have been nearly of the same age as Dunstan; they were ordained at the same time to the degree of presbyter; and when Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury, towards 947, Ethelwold took the monastic habit, and became the companion of his studies and of his counsels. He there qualified himself as a grammarian and poet;‡ entered eagerly into the deepest mysteries of theology; and probably followed all the various pursuits in the arts and sciences, to which Dunstan showed so much attachment. Ethelwold is said to have been an ingenious mechanic; and an early writer mentions two bells which he made with his own hands.§

* The life of Ethelwold, or Ethelwald, was written by his contemporary Wolstan of Winchester. The edition quoted here is that of Mabillon, in the Acta SS. Bened. sæc. V. p. 608.

† Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. p. 609. W. Malmsb. de Pontif. Angl. p. 243.

‡ Didicit namque inibi liberalem grammaticæ artis peritiam, atque mellifluam metricæ rationis dulcedinem: et more apis prudentissimæ, quæ solet boni odoris arbores circumvolando requirere, et jocundi saporis oleribus incumbere, divinorum carpebat voluminum flores. Catholicos quoque et nominatos studiose legebat auctores. Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. p. 612.

§ Fecit etiam duas campanas propriis manibus, ut dicitur, quas in hac domo posuit cum aliis duabus majoribus, quas etiam beatus Dunstanus pro-

Ethelwold remained but a few years at Glastonbury, for before the end of the reign of Edred, who died in 955, he was seized with the desire of visiting France, and of perfecting himself in learning and monastic discipline in the schools and monasteries which flourished in that country. But the queen mother, Edgiva, a woman of great piety, represented to king Edred the loss his kingdom would sustain, if he allowed such an eminent monk to quit it; and when Ethelwold applied for leave to travel, he met with a denial. As an excuse for retaining him in England, the king gave him the abbey of Abingdon, in Berkshire, a small monastic house, then deserted and in ruins, which the king and his mother at the same time enriched with lands and other valuable gifts. Ethelwold brought thither a few monks from Glastonbury, and began to erect a new building, more worthy of the purpose for which it was destined. This work was not completed till the beginning of the reign of Edgar, when Ethelwold sent one of his monks named Osgar to Fleury, to be instructed in the monastic discipline of that place, and qualified to teach it to the monks of Abingdon.*

In 963, about three years after the completion of the monastery at Abingdon, king Edgar promoted Ethelwold to the bishopric of Winchester, left vacant by the death of Brithelm. He was consecrated by Dunstan (then archbishop of Canterbury) on Sunday, the 29th of November.† Ethelwold had no sooner arrived at the episcopacy, than

priis manibus fecisse perhibetur. Registr. Abendon. in the Monasticon, vol. i. p. 516.

* Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. pp. 612, 613. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 244. The most detailed account of Ethelwold's works at Abingdon, will be found in the extracts from the Register of that house, printed in the Monasticon.

† Saxon Chron. sub an. Wolstan. p. 614. In 963, Nov. 29 was the first Sunday in Advent.

he began the great revolution in the Anglo-Saxon church which he had long contemplated. The Anglo-Saxon monasteries had previously been occupied, and the church administered, by secular priests (called in the Latin writers simply *clerici, canonici,* and *presbyteri*), who appear to have resembled in many respects the clergy of the church of England at the present day. Their discipline and rule of life was by no means severe, and they were at liberty to marry and have families. The Old Minster at Winchester (the monastery attached to the episcopal see), and the New Minster (king Alfred's foundation), were both occupied by this secular clergy at the time of Ethelwold's election. The former was more immediately under the bishop's influence, and, having obtained the authorization of Edgar, in the second year of his episcopacy (A.D. 964), he ejected the priests violently from their abode, and established monks in their place. The monkish biographers say that he was compelled to adopt this harsh measure by the dissolute lives of the priests, whom they characterize as men remarkable chiefly for their pride, insolence, and luxury, some of them looking upon it as a degradation to be obliged to perform the ceremonies of the church, and all of them illicitly contracting marriages, and second marriages, like laymen; * but the Saxon Chronicle states simply that they were driven out because they were not willing to submit to the monastic 'rule,' † and all the old historians agree in saying that they were first invited

* Erant autem tunc in Veteri Monasterio, ubi cathedra pontificalis habetur, canonici nefandis scelerum moribus implicati, elatione et insolentia atque luxuria præventi, adeo ut nonnulli eorum dedignarentur missas pro ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores quas illicite duxerant et alias accipientes, quin et ebrietati jugiter dediti. Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. p. 614. See also Anglia Sacra, vol. i. pp. 289, 290.

† ⁊ draf ut þa clerca of þe biscoprice, forðan þ hi noldon nan regul healdon, ⁊ sætta þær muneca. Sax. Chron. sub an. 963.

to assume the monastic habit. The New Minster soon followed the fate of the Old, and within the same year the priests were also expelled from the monasteries of Ceortes-ige (Chertsey) and Middel-tune (Milton).* The monks who were introduced into these houses were brought from Abingdon and Glastonbury, the only places where at that time monks, in the strict sense of the word, were to be found.† These vigorous proceedings caused great irritation between the old clergy and the new monks, and the biographer of Ethelwold does not hesitate in charging the former with an attempt to poison their prelate at his own table.

Having thus reformed the four monasteries above mentioned, and compelled also the Nuns' Minster at Winchester to adopt a stricter rule, Ethelwold turned his attention to the monasteries which during the Danish wars had been deserted by their inmates, and the possessions of which had fallen into the hands of the king. This was the case with most of the larger monastic foundations, and it favoured in no slight degree his favourite project of introducing monks in place of the secular clergy throughout the land. Ethelwold first bought from the king the ancient nunnery of Ely, and having by the purchase of numerous valuable estates, and by other gifts, made it "very rich," he placed in it a society of monks under an abbot named Brithnoth.‡ He bought and rebuilt, in the same manner, the ruins of Medeshamsted (since called Peterborough), and Thorney; and he did not desist from

* Saxon Chron. sub an. 964.

† Nam hactenus ea tempestate non habebantur monachi in gente Anglorum, nisi tantum qui in Glastonia morabantur et Abbandonia. Wolstan. p. 615.

‡ Saxon Chron. sub an. 963. Wolstan. pp. 615, 616. A detailed account of Ethelwold's benefactions to the minster of Ely is found in MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. XIX.

prosecuting his great design until he had established monks in every part of England.

These extensive operations afforded Ethelwold frequent occasions for indulging in his love of the arts. Both as abbot and bishop, he was celebrated as a "great builder of churches and other works." * One of his chief architectural works was the rebuilding the cathedral of Winchester, which occupied him some years, and was not finished till the year 980, when, on the twentieth day of October, it was consecrated with much pomp by archbishop Dunstan, in the presence of king Ethelred and nine bishops.† In the course of this undertaking Ethelwold disinterred the bones of St. Swithun, which he deposited in a new tomb in the interior of the church in 971. Ethelwold was likewise skilful in the mechanical arts, and in music. We have already mentioned the bells which he made with his own hands for the abbey of Abingdon. From the early register of the same abbey, we learn that he also made "a certain wheel full of bells, which he called the Golden Wheel, on account of its being plated with gold, which he directed to be brought forward and turned round on feast days, to excite greater devotion."‡ He is said to have been eminent as a mathematician; and a treatise on the quadrature of the circle, addressed by him to the celebrated Gerbert, is still preserved.§

Under Ethelwold's superintendence, the monastery at Winchester became an eminent school, which produced

* Ecclesiarum ac diversorum operum magnus ædificator, et dum esset abbas et dum esset episcopus. Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. p. 614.

† Wolstan. pp. 617—621.

‡ Præterea fecit vir venerabilis Atheluuoldus quandam rotam tintinnabulis plenam, quam auream nuncupavit, propter laminas ipsius deauratas, quam in festivis diebus ad majoris excitationem devotionis reducendo volvi constituit. Regist. Abendon. in the Monasticon, vol. i. p. 516.

§ In the Bodleian Library, MS. Digby, No. 83, fol. 21. See Tanner.

many of the most remarkable bishops and abbots of the following age. His biographer describes to us the eagerness with which he employed himself in the instruction of youth, and the pleasure he appeared to feel when teaching children the grammar and metres of the Latin language, and reading to them Latin books in English,* for it had been previously the general custom to teach them in Latin. The chief literary work of St. Ethelwold (or, at least, the one by which he was best known) was a translation into Anglo-Saxon of the Rule of monastic life drawn up in Latin by St. Benedict. This work he is said to have undertaken at the desire of king Edgar, who gave him for it the manor of Southburne, which he immediately conferred upon his foundation at Ely.† Ethelwold's munificence appeared in the number and richness of his endowments, probably far exceeding those of any other individual in any age. His charity was exhibited in a no less remarkable manner; when his own diocese was suffering under the visitation of famine and pestilence, he ordered all the sacred vessels of the church to be broken up and turned into money, observing, that the precious metals were better employed in feeding the poor than in administering to the pride of the ecclesiastics.‡ The Saxon Chronicle calls him "the benevolent bishop."§

* Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et juvenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglice eis solvere, et regulas grammaticæ artis ac metricæ rationis tradere, et jocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari. Unde factum est, ut perplures ex discipulis ejus fierent sacerdotes atque abbates, et honorabiles episcopi, quidam etiam archiepiscopi, in gente Anglorum. Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. p. 617.

† Ipse etiam dedit S. Ethelwoldo manerium de Suthburne, eo pacto, ut ipse transferret Regulam S. Benedicti de Latino in Anglicum, quod idem episcopus S. Etheldredæ obtulit. Thomæ Eliens. Hist. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. i p. 604.

‡ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 244.

§ Her forð-ferde se well-willenda bisceop of Winceastre Athelwold, muneca fæder. Saxon Chron. sub an. 984.

Ethelwold died on the first of August, 984,* and was buried with great pomp in the cathedral of Winchester. Dunstan was present at his death.

Ethelwold's Anglo-Saxon version of the Rule of St. Benedict is still preserved, as well as a compilation from it made by Alfric for the monks of Eynesham. A copy of the former is in MS. Cotton. Faustina, A. x.; † the latter occurs among the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 265. The Latin Rule of St. Benedict is also found in several manuscripts (as MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. III.; MSS. C. C. Col. Cambr. Nos. 178 and (apparently) 191), with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon translation, of which the author is not known. We give the article on the diet of the monks (chapter xl.), as a specimen of each of these versions; the first is from MS. Cotton. Faustina, A. x., fol. 129, v°.; the other from MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. III. fol. 141, v°.).

Ethelwold's Version.

Be ætes ge-mete.

We ge-lyfaþ ꝥ ge-noh sy to dæghwamlicum ge-reorde twa ge-sodene sufel for missenlicra manna untrumnysse; gif hwa for hwylcre cisnesse þæs anes brucan ne mæge, bruce huru þæs oþeres. Gif mon æppla hæbbe, oþþe hwylces oþres cynnes eorþ-wæstmas, sy ꝥ to þriddan sufle. Sy anes pundes ge-wihte hlaf to eallum dæge; gif hi on twa mæl etaþ, sy ge-healden þæs pund mætan hlafes se þriddan dæl to þam æfen-gifle. Gif hi mid weorces ge-swince to þam swiþe of-sette beoþ ꝥ hi hwilces eacan behofien stande se eaca on þæs abbodes dome ꝥ þonne swa sy fore-sceawod, swa þær næfre ofer-fyl ne fylige, for-þi nis cristenum mannum nan þing swa wiþerweardlic ⁊ hæfig tyme swa swa ofer-fyl, be þam se Hælend sylf þus clypaþ, Warniaþ ꝥ eowere heortan ne syn ofer-symede mid ofer-fylle. Geongum ne sy bileofa ge-seald be þam ylcum ge-mete, ac læsse þonne þæm marum, ꝥ for-hæfednes ægþer ge on ylde ge on geogoþe simle ge-ealden sy. Ealle endemes flæsc-æte eallum ge-mete hy for-hæbben butan þæm wanhalum ⁊ þæm leger-fæstum.

* Wolstan. Vit. Æthelw. pp. 622, 623. Saxon Chron. &c.

† This manuscript, which must have come into the Cottonian library at a late period, is the one described by Wanley (p. 289) as belonging to Thomas Cartwright, Esq. of Aynho, in Northamptonshire.

The Latin text with the Interlinear Version.

De mensura ciborum.

ge-nihtsumian we ge-lyfað to dægþerlicere reordunge ge mid-dæges
Sufficere credimus ad refectionem cotidianam tam sextæ
ge nones eallum monðum twa ge-sodene syflian sanda
quam nonæ omnibus mensibus cocta duo pulmentaria,
for mistlicora untrumnessa wenunge of anum se
propter diversorum infirmitates, ut forte qui ex uno non
ðe mæg etan of oðrum ꝥ he si ge-reord. þonne twa sanda
poterit edere ex alio reficiatur. Ergo duo pulmentaria
ge-nihtsumiað ⁊ gif beoð ac hwanone æpla
cocta omnibus fratribus sufficiant, et si fuerint unde pomi
oððe acennedlicu ofetu asigeglið swilce ꝥ þridde. an pund
aut nascentia leguminum addatur et tertium. Panis libra
awegen ge-nihtsumige on dege swa hwæðer swa ðu sig on ge-reor-
una propensa sufficiat in die, sive una sit refectio sive
dunge oððe gereordunge ⁊ æfen-þenunge. ꝥ gif hi sceolan on æfen
prandii et cœnæ. Quod si cœnaturi
ge-reordian of þam sylfan punde se þridda fram þam hordere si ge-
sunt de eadem libra tertia pars a cellarario reser-
healden to agifenne on æfen þenungum. ge-swinc
vetur reddanda cœnaturis. Quod si labor forte
mare on cyre hit beo
factus fuerit major, in arbitrio et potestate abbatis erit,
gif hit fremað ycan asyndrode to-foran eallum þingum
si expediat aliquid augere, præmota præ omnibus
ofer-fylle ꝥ næfre ne undersmæge þam munece ofer-æt for-þam
crapula, ut nunquam subripiat monacho indigeries, quia
swa wiðerweard þen is swa swa ofer-
nihil sic contrarium est omni Christiano, quomodo cra-
fylle swa swa sæde ure Drihten Warniað ꝥ ne beon ge-heofogode
pula, sicut ait Dominus noster, Videte ne graventur
on ofor-full Cildum on ginran ylde
corda vestra in crapula. Pueris vero minore ætate non
seo ylce ne si ge-healdan micelness ah læsse þonne þam yldrum
eadem servetur quantitas, sed minor quam majoribus,
ge-healdanra fiðer-fete flæsð
servata in omnibus parcitate. Carnium vero quadrupe-

si for-hæmed butan
dum omnino ab omnibus abstineatur comestio, præter
wan halum ⁊ þa metruman.
omnino debiles et ægrotos.

DUNSTAN.*

Dunstan was a native of Wessex, the son of Heorstan and Cynethryth (or Cynedrida), who appear to have resided near Glastonbury, and the nephew of Athelm, arch-

* The life of Dunstan has employed the pens of various early writers. The following biographies of this truly eminent man are still extant.

1. A life by Bridferth, written soon after Dunstan's death, which is the most valuable of them all, and has been printed in the Acta Sanctorum Maii, tom. iv. p. 346. An early and good MS. of this life is preserved in the Cottonian Library, Cleopatra, B. xiii. which we quote in preference to the printed edition, as furnishing a better text, although it wants the preface.

2. A life, or rather (as it is generally entitled) 'eulogium' of Dunstan by Adalard a monk of Bath, one of his disciples, written about twenty years after his death. A copy of it is in MS. Cotton. Nero, C. vii.

3. A life by Osbern, a disciple of Lanfranc, written soon after 1070. It is printed in the Acta Sanctorum Maii, tom. iv. p. 359, in the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 659, and in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 88. The last-mentioned edition, in which the collection of Dunstan's miracles is omitted, is the one quoted in the present volume. Manuscripts of this life are found in the Harleian Library, No. 56, and in the Arundel Library, Brit. Mus. No. 16.

4. A life by Eadmer, written at the beginning of the twelfth century, and printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 211. A manuscript copy of this life is in the Lansdowne Collection, No. 436, fol. 59, v°.

5. A life of Dunstan was printed in Surius, de Probatis Sanctorum Vitis, under the name of Osbert, which agrees verbally, except in a few passages that are peculiar to it, with that by Eadmer. This is the life found in MS. Cotton. Nero, E. i. fol. 401, v°. Fragments of Osbert are given in the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. v. p. 701.

6. A life of Dunstan by William of Malmsbury, in two books, is preserved in manuscript, as we learn from Mr. Purton Cooper on the Public Records, vol. ii. p. 164.

Collateral materials for the life of Dunstan are found in all the chronicles

bishop of Canterbury. He was born, according to the best authorities, in 925, the first year of the reign of king Athelstan; and his great power and reputation in after times led people to believe that his birth had been preceded by extraordinary presages, which are circumstantially related by all his ancient biographers. The scene of his birth was favourable to the development of Dunstan's mind. From the earliest ages the neighbourhood of Glastonbury has been connected with popular legends. The Britons looked upon it as the burial-place of their mythic heroes; while the Irish believed it to be sanctified by the bones of their earliest saints; and even the Anglo-Saxons regarded with mysterious reverence the spot where were preserved the relics of a Christian church founded before their arrival in the island. It thus became an object of pilgrimage to these different peoples; and the Irish scholars, who came there to pass their latter days in order that their bones might rest by the side of those of their tutelary saint Patrick, supported themselves by teaching, and opened a school which was frequented by the Saxon youth from a considerable distance.* Dunstan was placed in the school of Glastonbury when a child, and made quick and extraordinary progress in learning. Amid the poetic and

of the time. In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 161, is a 'Sermo de maxima laude sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi et confessoris,' perhaps merely another title for the work of Adalard.

* Porro Hibernensium peregrini prædictum locum Glestoniæ sicut et cæteræ fidelium turbæ magno colebant affectu, et maxime ob beati Patricii senioris honorem, qui faustus ibidem in Domino quievisse narratur. Bridferth, Vit. Dunst. MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. III. fol. 63, r°.—Cum ergo hi tales viri talibus de causis Glastoniam venissent, nec tamen quicquid sibi necessarium erat sufficientissime in loco reperissent, suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos, ut quod minus ad usum loci libertas exhiberet, eorum quos docebant liberalitate redundaret. Osbern. Vit. Dunst. ap. Wharton. p. 92. It appears doubtful which of the St. Patricks was supposed to be buried at Glastonbury.

religious legends of the place, his mind, easily acted upon, received a peculiar character; and this singularity was rendered more remarkable by a physical weakness to which he was subject from his infancy. When under the influence of this distemper, Dunstan believed himself to be carried away in a vision, and to have intercourse with the beings of another world. While still very young, his ardent study threw him into a violent fever, which reduced him to a state of feebleness that left no hopes of his recovery. His friends were already assembled round his bed, believing him to be dying, when he suddenly arose in a kind of extacy, seized a staff which chanced to be near at hand, and ran with amazing speed over the neighbouring hills and vallies, from time to time turning about and brandishing his staff in the air like a madman. He continued his wanderings till night-fall, and, on his return, he was seen to mount up to the roof of the abbey church by a difficult and dangerous road, which had been made for the use of the workmen employed to repair the building, and after balancing himself for a moment on the edge of the battlements, he descended by a no less perilous way into the interior, and there laid himself between the two keepers, and fell into a gentle slumber. When the keepers awoke, they were astonished to find the child in this situation, more particularly as the gate of the church was securely fastened. But Dunstan, who was already relieved from his fever, declared that he had been tormented by devils, who had hunted him with ravenous dogs, and that sometimes he had avoided them by flight and sometimes driven them off with his staff, until angels came and rescued him from his pursuers, by lifting him up gently to the top of the church; and that his heavenly protectors had borne him on their

wings into the interior of the building.* From this period, Dunstan was regarded by his companions with feelings of awe and admiration.

After Dunstan had received the tonsure at Glastonbury, and had mastered all the branches of learning which were taught there, he was invited to Canterbury by his uncle Athelm,† who soon after his arrival presented him to king Athelstan. His beauty, his engaging manners, and, above all, his extraordinary mental accomplishments, soon made him a favourite at court: among other things, he possessed great skill in music, and we are told that when the king and his nobles were weary with labouring on the affairs of state, they sought relaxation in listening to Dunstan's performances on the harp and other instruments.‡ The great favour which Dunstan's accomplishments procured him, made him an object of jealousy to the younger courtiers, who not only spread reports that he practised heathen charms and magic,† but accused him formally before the king, of some crime which is not distinctly stated; and, finding his credit at court diminished, he quitted it to return to the house of his other uncle, the elder Alfheh, bishop of Winchester, Athelm being now dead. The malice of Dunstan's persecutors did not rest here. They hired men to

* Bridferth, fol. 61, v°. Adalard, fol. 73, r°. Osbern, p. 92.

† Godwin is probably wrong in placing Athelm's death so early as 924, unless the scribes have interpolated his name in the MSS. of the earlier biographers for Alfheah, bishop of Winchester; which, however, does not seem probable.

‡ Iterum cum videret dominum regem sæcularibus curis fatigatum, psallebat in timphano sive in cithara, sive alio quolibet musici generis instrumento, quo facto tam regis quam omnium corda principum exhilarabat. Osbern. Vit. Dunst. p. 94.

§ Dicentes eum ex libris salutaribus et viris peritis non saluti animæ profutura, sed avitæ gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina, et histriarum colere incantationes. Bridferth, fol. 63, v°. Conf. Osbern, p. 95.

lay wait for him on the road; these drove away his servants, took him from his horse, bound him hand and foot, and, after beating him severely, threw him into a marshy pond. Dunstan had with difficulty crawled to the dry ground, when, disfigured with mud and bruises, he was attacked by a pack of hungry dogs, from which he took refuge in a peasant's hut, where he remained till he had recovered strength to continue his journey. He afterwards declared his belief that the dogs were no other than the demons who had been the cause of all his misfortunes.*

After his arrival at Winchester, he was subjected to a new trial. We have already observed that at this period marriage was permitted among the clergy.† Dunstan, moreover, had not yet reached the age requisite for taking holy orders; for if we suppose that his retreat from court happened in the last year of Athelstan's reign (A.D. 940), he was then only fifteen years of age, and at the time of which we are now speaking he could not have been more than seventeen or eighteen. Dunstan was passionately enamoured of a maiden of great beauty, of a rank in life equal with his own, and endowed with the accomplishments congenial to his own character, and he sought permission to marry her. But his uncle Alfheh was opposed to the union; he probably foresaw in some measure the splendid destiny which awaited his nephew, and he urged him to overcome his passion, and to embrace the strict rule of monastic life then prevalent in France, but which had not yet been introduced into this island. Dunstan avowed his distaste for monachism, and refused to act according to his uncle's admonitions. The struggle of contending feelings which arose out of these circum-

* Bridferth, fol. 64, r°. and v°. Osbern, p. 95.

† See above, p. 437.

stances brought on a new and severe attack of his disease; and while languishing under a burning fever, his uncle came to his bed-side, recommenced his exhortations to embrace a monastic life, and told him that he was now suffering under the effects of God's displeasure for having preferred an earthly bride to the church of Christ. The words of the bishop had a deep effect upon his mind, and he appears to have made a vow that if he recovered he would retire from the world.*

Dunstan fulfilled his vow in a manner that was no less extraordinary than the circumstances of his previous life. He built for himself, adjacent to the walls of the church of Winchester, a little cell, the larger portion of which was sunk below the level of the earth, and which was so small that he could scarcely raise himself upright in it. In this narrow receptacle Dunstan made his dwelling, and he only left it when required to perform the necessary acts and duties of his life. The period of his time which was not passed in devotional exercises, was here employed in the practise of the arts and numerous branches of knowledge in which he was proficient. Dunstan was distinguished by his fondness for science and the mechanical arts, and he was probably acquainted with many instruments and modes of proceeding which, though their principle is now well understood, were then believed to be the work of superhuman agency. His biographer has preserved one of the incidents that drew upon Dunstan the charge of magic. It seems that before he left the court of Ethelstan, he had invented a harp which played spontaneously. A noble lady named Ethelwynn, who was acquainted with his skill in drawing and design, begged his assistance in ornamenting a handsome stole.

* Bridferth, fol. 65, r°. Osbern, p. 96.

Dunstan, as usual, carried with him his harp,* which, when he entered the apartment of the ladies, he hung beside the wall; and in the midst of their work they were astonished by strains of excellent music which issued from the instrument. Dunstan had in his cell a forge, at which he manufactured the articles of metal that were necessary for the use or ornament of the church, while he rendered similar services to the people who visited him. He was skilful also in writing and painting (or illuminating), and frequently practised these arts in his cell; while at times the sound of the hammer gave place to that of his harp.†

It is not surprising if, in this solitary and uncomfortable abode, Dunstan frequently laboured under the monomania, as it has been described, to which he was constitutionally subject. He believed himself continually persecuted by demons. It is pretended that on one occasion, in the night, when Dunstan was employed as usual at his forge, the devil came to his hut in the form of a man, and brought him a piece of iron which he wished to be beaten into a certain form. Dunstan willingly undertook the work, but, led by some circumstances to suspect the trick which was put upon him, he watched an opportunity, and suddenly seizing the fiend by the nose with his red-hot tongs, forced him to resume his own proper shape. The howling of the tempter was audible for miles round the cell, and when the terrified inhabitants came next morning to Dunstan to enquire the cause, it is said that they heard this story from his own lips.‡ According

* Quod cum veniendo fecisset, sumpsit secum cytharam suam, quam lingua paterna *hearpan* vocamus, quo se temporibus alternis mentesque adtendentium jocundaretur in illa. Bridferth, fol. 70, r°.

† Hic itaque inter sacra litterarum studia, ut in omnibus esset idoneus, artem scribendi necne citharizandi pariterque pingendi peritiam diligenter excoluit, atque ut ita dicam omnium rerum utensilium vigil inspector fulsit. Bridferth, fol. 69, v°.

‡ Osbern, p. 96.

to another version of the legend, the devil had appeared to him in the form of a beautiful woman, and had tempted him by indecent words and actions. On another occasion, when he and his uncle Alfheh were overlooking the workmen employed in the new church at Winchester, their lives were endangered by an enormous stone, which fell at their feet; and there were not wanting people to declare and believe that they had seen the evil one throw it at Dunstan from behind one of the battlements.* Numerous tales of this kind spread the fame of Dunstan's sanctity, and his cell became an object of pilgrimage. Among his best friends was a widowed lady of royal blood, who had built herself a house near the church, for the freer indulgence of her pious feelings. Her friendship is spoken of by the biographers as though it had been of important advantages to him; it ended only with her death, when she left to him the whole of her property, to be employed in alms and pious purposes.†

King Edmund, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of Ethelstan in 940, at length called Dunstan from his cell, although still very young, to make him one of his counsellors; ‡ and soon afterwards the same monarch made him abbot of Glastonbury. Dunstan immediately introduced into his abbey the austere discipline of the continental monks, expelling the secular clergy who had previously occupied it, and from whom he had himself received the first rudiments of learning. He also enlarged and embellished the buildings, which by his influence and example from a poor establishment soon became a richly endowed foundation. Dunstan was regarded by the Anglo-Saxon church as the first abbot of a house of what

* Bridferth, fol. 66, r°.
† Bridferth, fol. 67—69. Osbern, p. 67.
‡ Bridferth, fol. 70, r°.

might strictly be denominated monks in England;* he opened at Glastonbury the first monastic school,† and his teaching formed some of the most celebrated ecclesiastics of the latter half of the tenth century. Among his first monks was his friend Ethelwold, afterwards bishop of Winchester. In his new work of reform, Dunstan believed himself more than ever exposed to the persecutions of the demon. He was also indulged, as he believed, with visions and foresights: on a former occasion he had heard angels singing at the birth of Edgar, the future patron of the monks; ‡ in a similar manner was revealed to him at the time of its occurrence the murder of Edmund, as well as the death of Edred; on the former occasion he beheld the demons rejoicing and dancing.§ Nor are these the mere legends of after ages; they were current in his life time, and encouraged, if not believed in, by himself. One of his biographers appeals to the authority of a man who saw a stone thrown at him by the devil, while he was employed in celebrating mass.||

During the reign of Edmund, Dunstan appears on one occasion to have fallen into disgrace; but in that of his successor Edred, he enjoyed the royal favour without interruption. In 953, on the death of Ethelgar second bishop of Crediton, Edred offered the vacant see to Dunstan, but he withstood the king's solicitations, and by his desire it was given to Alfwold.¶ He was then only

* Et hoc prædicto modo saluberrimam Sancti Benedicti sequens institutionem primus abbas Angliæ nationis enituit. Bridferth, fol. 72, r°.

† Monachorum ibi scholam primo primus instituere cœpit. Adalard, MS. Cotton. Nero C. VII. fol. 73, r°.

‡ Adalard, fol. 73, v°. Osbern, p. 101.

§ Bridferth, fol. 74, v°. Adalard, fol. 74, v°. Osbern, pp. 102, 104.

|| Bridferth, fol. 74, r°.

¶ Bridferth, fol. 75, r°. Adalard and Osbern say that it was the bishopric of Winchester which was offered to him, which became vacant in 951 by the death of Alfheh.

twenty-eight years of age. Two years after this event, in 955, Edred died, and was succeeded by his nephew Edwy. Dunstan's zeal in opposing the rising corruptions of the court made him obnoxious to the young monarch, and his violence at the coronation, when he and his kinsman bishop Kynesy of Lichfield were chosen to bring the young king back into the hall, excited his hatred. He was in consequence banished the kingdom; and he escaped by a hasty flight from the hands of the messengers who were sent to deprive him of his eyes. The monks were included in the sentence, and were driven from their habitation; and the secular clergy returned in triumph to the abbey of Glastonbury. As Dunstan was quitting his church, it is said that the whole building suddenly rung with unearthly laughter; and that the abbot, turning again, addressed the invisible demon in the following words, "Go on; for thou shalt soon have more cause to lament for my return, than to rejoice now at my departure."*

Dunstan found an asylum in the monastery of St. Peter at Ghent,† where he waited with anxiety the moment of his recall. After the subsequent partition of the kingdom, Edgar sent for Dunstan, who was received with public honours amid the acclamations of the people, and recalled the monks to their possessions. A great council was held on his arrival (A.D. 958) at 'Brandanford,' where he was appointed to the vacant see of Worcester,‡ and to this the bishopric of London

* Bridferth, fol. 77, r°. Adalard, fol. 74, v°. Osbern, pp. 104, 105. The latter writer says that the laughter of the demon resembled the voice of a heifer (quasi vox juvenculæ). See, for the account of Dunstan's behaviour at the coronation, our life of Odo, p. 430 of the present volume.

† Adalard, fol. 74, v°. Osbern, p. 106. According to Bridferth, fol. 77, v°, Dunstan knew but little of the language then spoken in France—cujus pœne loquelam ritumque ignorabat.

‡ Bridferth, fol. 79, r°. Annales Wigorn. ap. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 472.

was shortly afterwards added. In 959, Edgar became sole king, and he made Dunstan one of his principal ministers, and supported him in all his measures of reform. Two years afterwards archbishop Odo died; his successor Alfsy was frozen to death on the Alps, in his way to Rome to seek the pallium; a bishop of Sherburne, named Byrhthelm, was chosen to occupy his place; but he, being found opposed to the introduction of monachism, or, at least, not a sufficiently zealous promoter of it, was immediately compelled to resign it to make way for Dunstan, who was consecrated in 962, the year after Odo's death, and immediately repaired to Rome to receive the pallium. With the archbishopric of Canterbury, Dunstan was allowed to hold also the two bishoprics of London and Rochester;* he had taken the latter in exchange for Worcester, which he resigned in favour of Oswald, a man distinguished for his warm attachment to monachism. Soon afterwards he obtained for his friend Ethelwold (the 'father of monks') the bishopric of Winchester.

Dunstan had now reached the pinnacle of his ambition, and, though still only about thirty-eight years of age, he was indisputably the most powerful individual in the kingdom. He retained this high position during the whole of Edgar's reign. His actions seem to show that he was a lover of justice and of peace. His leisure hours were still occupied with the same studies and labours which he had followed while a simple monk. His influence over the king was exhibited on one occasion in an extraordinary manner. In a visit to the monastery of Wilton, Edgar had become enamoured of a beautiful damsel named Wulfrida, and had carried her away by force. It appears by the most credible accounts that Wulfrida had not taken the vow of a nun, but that she had been placed in the monastery for her

* Osbern, Vit. Dunst. p. 108.

education; yet, when called before the king, in her dread of his designs, she had snatched a veil from one of the sisters and thrown it over her own head. Dunstan considered that by the outrage done to the maiden, who had thus covered herself with the veil, the church was violated; and when he next came into the king's presence, he refused to give him his hand; "I," said he, "will never be the friend of him to whom God is an enemy." Edgar fell on his knees before the angry prelate, and humbly acknowledged his fault; and Dunstan enjoined to him a severe penance of seven years, during which time he was never to wear the crown.* The king acquiesced in the sentence, and at the expiration of the term, on Whitsunday, 973, he was crowned by Dunstan at Bath with great pomp.

On the death of Edgar in 975, the succession to the crown was disputed in the meeting of the witans, and some of the nobles were inclined to support the claims of the younger child, Ethelred; others advocated the rights of Edward, the son of another wife. The question was agitated when Edward was led to the place of consecration, and the choice seemed still doubtful, till Dunstan stepped forward, and, having seized the cross which was borne before him, took Edward by the hand, showed him to the people as their king, and then crowned and anointed him.† Yet Dunstan's influence appears to have declined during this short reign. A party of the nobles, instigated probably by Ethelred's mother Alfrida, appear to have been opposed to him; and it was perhaps by their encouragement of the opposite party in the church, that new disputes arose between the monks and the married clergy.

* The story of Wulfrida and the king's penance is found in Osbern, Vit. Dunst. p. 111; Eadmer, Vit. Dunst. p. 218. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 60. Osbert, ap. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. V. p. 705.

† Osbern, p. 113. elegit, sacravit.

The latter, condemned to suffer in silence the contempt which was thrown upon them during the reign of Edgar, now raised up their heads, and began to make loud complaints at the innovations, which Dunstan and his creatures had made in the church, and their clamours found a ready echo among the people. Dunstan, the object of their reproaches, saw himself in danger of losing the fruits of all his labours, and he seems to have used in his defence some of the arts which had occupied so many of his leisure hours. A council was first called at Winchester, where he confounded his opponents by causing a voice to issue from the mouth of a picture of Christ.* The party opposed to Dunstan was supported by Alfere, alderman of Mercia, who had driven the monks from all the monasteries in his province. The married clergy demanded another meeting, and insisted upon having the question argued fairly and publicly. In this demand the primate was compelled to acquiesce, and a council was held in 978 at Calne in Wiltshire. The clerks called to their assistance their brethren of the Celtic church, and they brought to the congress a Scottish or Irish bishop named Beornhelm, a famous disputant, celebrated for his learning and eloquence. At the council, which was held in the upper room of a house, were present "all the oldest counsellors" of England. The dispute appears to have been carried on with considerable acrimony; and the advantage was rather on the side of the clerks; when Dunstan, in reply to the forcible arguments of Beornhelm, excused himself from proceeding in the controversy, and invoked some terrible visitation from heaven to confound his presumptuous enemies. He had scarcely uttered the words, when the floor on which they stood gave way with a fearful crash,

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 61.

and all except Dunstan and his friends, who stood upon a solid beam, were precipitated to the ground. Many were killed, and few escaped without serious injuries.* This miracle, as it was then believed to be by Dunstan's partizans and the populace, determined the question in favour of the monks; but the historian may be allowed to suspect that the primate's skill in mechanics was not entirely foreign to it.

The murder of the young king by his step-mother, which occurred immediately after the event just related, was a final blow to Dunstan's power. He officiated unwillingly at the coronation of Ethelred; and when he had placed the crown on his head, he pronounced a prophetic malediction on the unfortunate prince, telling him that the blood of his brother, shed to open his way to the throne, should weigh heavily upon himself and upon his descendants, and that the sword should not cease its visitations on his house until the sceptre had passed to a nation of strangers.† At the same time there appeared, to use the expression of the Saxon chronicler, a "bloody welkin;" and other presages cast trouble into the public mind. From this time Dunstan ceased to interfere in state affairs. He was not old in years; but his constitutional weakness, and the manifold labours and vicissitudes of his life, had brought on the feebleness of age. He lived to see the fulfilment of his prophecy commenced: in Ethelred's third year a fleet of Northern pirates arrived on the coast of England, and their invasions continued till they had subdued the kingdom under a Danish dynasty. Dunstan died on Saturday, the 19th of May, 988, in the sixty-

* Osbern, Vit. Dunst. p. 112. Eadmer, p. 220. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. p. 61. Saxon Chron. sub an. 978. Tanner, after Dempster, mentions one Fothadus, who came to argue against Dunstan on this occasion, and was killed by the catastrophe.

† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Ang. p. 162. Eadmer, Vit. Dunst. p. 113.

fourth year of his age,* and was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury. Twenty-four years after his death, when Canterbury was threatened by the Danes, his body is said to have been taken up and carried to Glastonbury.†

The whole tenour of Dunstan's life shows that his mind was distinguished more by its extraordinary activity, than by a tendency to solitude and contemplation; his leisure employments were chiefly works of the hand, the mechanical sciences and the fine arts. Yet he appears to have been a man of considerable learning, and not devoid of literary taste. Although he regarded the Scriptures, and the writings of the theologians, as the grand object of study to Christians, yet he taught that the writings of the poets and other ancient authors were not to be neglected, because they tended to polish the minds, and improve the style of those who read them. His favourite studies were arithmetic, with geometry, astronomy, and music, the quadrivium of the schools, the highest and most difficult class of scholastic accomplishments.‡ He is said to have imbibed his taste from the Irish monks, who cultivated science with more zeal than literature. He also employed much time in his youth in writing and illuminating books, and in making ornaments of different kinds, for he excelled in drawing and sculpture.§

* Saxon Chron. sub an. 988. Bridferth, fol. 88, v°. &c. ⁊ he leofode .lxiii. geare, ⁊ on ꝥ .lxiiii. geare he forð-ferde .xiiii. kl. Jun. Entry in an early Calendar, MS. Cotton. Calig. A. xv. fol. 129, r°. Transiit autem ad patres suos gloriosus amicus Dei Dunstanus anno ætatis sexagesimo quarto, archiepiscopatus vicesimo septimo, vir senectutis non multæ sed sanctitatis immensæ. MS. Cotton. Nero E. I. fol. 411, v°.

† W. Malmsb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccles. Ed. Gale, p. 301.

‡ See the Introduction to the present volume, pp. 67—69.

§ Horum ergo disciplinatu sacram scripturam medullitus ad extremam satietatem exhausit. Sæcularium literarum quiddam negligendum, nonnihil etiam appetendum putavit. Poetarum siquidem scripta duntaxat, quæ fabulas strepunt et artes, quæ citra utilitatem animæ armant eloquium, transeunter audivit. Arithmeticam porro cum geometria et astronomia ac musica, quæ appendent, gratanter addicit et diligenter excoluit: et quippe

He appears to have possessed little taste for literary compositions, for we hear nothing of his skill in poetry, he attained no reputation for eloquence, and the writings which have been attributed to him, of little importance in their character, are such as would have originated in the necessity of the moment. But his influence on the literature of his country was great; the innumerable monasteries which grew up under his auspices became so many schools of learning, and the few writings of that period which now remain must be but a small portion of the numerous books which perished with the monasteries in which they were written, during the new series of Danish invasions which prevented their being recopied and multiplied.

Many monuments of Dunstan's labours were preserved to later times, and a few are still preserved. In a MS. at Oxford,* of his age, there is a picture of Dunstan on his knees worshipping Christ, which, as well as the writing that accompanies it, is stated in a very ancient note to have been executed by his own hand. In a roll which issues from Dunstan's mouth is inscribed the following distich:—

> Dunstanum memet clemens rogo Christe tuere;
> Tenarias me non sinas sorbisse procellas.

in illis et magna exercitatio scienciæ, et veritatis integra castitas, et mirabilium Dei non vana consideratio, harum scientiam Hibernienses pro magno pollicentur; cæterum ad formanda Latine verba, et ad integre loquendum, minus idonei. W. Malms. de Vit. Dunst. ap. Leland, De Scrip. Brit. tom. i. p. 162. Doctrinam multam, sicut ante dictum est, per Dei gratiam hauserat: quia in eo cum strenuitate studii præcellebat vivacitas ingenii. W. Malmsb. ib. Currebat per tabulam stylus, per paginam calamus; sumebat pencellum, ut pingeret, scalpellum, ut sculperet; nam in Glastonia, ut nobis traditum de opere ejus manuali, cruces, turribula, fialæ, casulæ, alia quoque vestimenta, quæ adhuc ob ejus honorem condigno reservantur honore. Johannes Glaston. p. 116.

* MS. Bodl. NE. D. 2. 19.

In the Cottonian Library * is preserved a charter of king Edred to the monastery of Reculver, dated in 949, which is stated to have been written by Dunstan, then abbot of Glastonbury. Another charter is we believe preserved at Winchester, which is undoubtedly in Dunstan's hand writing. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the great bells which he had made for the church of Abingdon were still preserved; † and at Glastonbury they showed crosses, censers, chasubles, and other vestments, which were the work of his hand.‡

Dunstan's writings appear to have been almost entirely of a theological character. In the seventeenth century was printed a tract on the Philosopher's Stone attributed to him, but it is evidently a modern production, to which his name was affixed in order to give it greater authority. His treatise *De occulta philosophia*, mentioned by Tanner as being in MS. in the library of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, No. 128, is probably the same as the foregoing, or similar in character. Of Dunstan's theological writings, that which is best known is a modification of the Benedictine Rule, made for the English monks, and accompanied with an Anglo-Saxon interlinear version, to render it more generally useful. The Latin text of this treatise has been printed. The following specimen, taken from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library,§ contains directions relating to the menial offices in the religious houses, which were to be performed by the monks in their turns.

Quo ordine sabbato fratres munditias exerceant, et quæque officina ob animæ salutem persolvant.

On Sæternes-dæg æfter regulices bebode ⁊
Sabbato secundum regulæ præceptum mandatum et

* MS. Cotton. Augustus, II. art. 57.

† Regist. Abendon. quoted in a note on p. 435 of the present volume.

‡ Johannes Glaston. as quoted above.

§ MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. III., fol. 23, r°.

clænsunge mid geornfulre gymena began ⁊ on hwylce wyse beon scy-
munditias diligenti cura exerceant, et qualiter fieri de-
lan þa þe gyt nyton carfulle leornian ge-wunelicum þeawe
beant qui adhuc nesciunt, solliciti discant, solito more
geornfulle ge-fyllan Nan ænig þing þeah þe alytel hys
studiosi compleant. Nullus quippiam quamvis parum sua
⁊ swylce agenre findincge don ge-þristlæce na ofer cyr-
ac quasi propria adinventione agere præsumat, nec eccle-
cean tida wyrþigende ge-sette na fram clastre swa se regul
sia horas celebrando constitutas nec claustro uti regula
byt ut-gan na lytles hwæt buton yldran leafe ofer-
præcipit egredi, nec parum quid sine Prioris licentia su-
modignysse to-þandenre to-blawen ge-þristlæce. sceona smyruncg
perbiæ tumore inflatus audeat. Calceamentorum unctio,
⁊ reafa wæsc ⁊ wæteres to-þenung na si
vestimentorumque ablutio, et aquæ administratio non
for-hugud ac fram eallum gif Drihtnes gyfu þa mihta for-
aspernatur, sed ab universis, si Domini gratia vires con-
gif on timan ge-dafenlicum ge-wunelice si þurh-don. Kycenan
cesserit, tempore opportuno consuete peragatur. Coquinæ
⁊ bæcernes ⁊ oðra þinga ambiht-hus swa se halga re-
ac pistrinæ cæterarumque rerum officina, uti sancta re-
gul byt anra ge-hwylc swa him mihta fylstan bliþe
gula præcipit, unusquisque prout vires suppetunt gratula-
gearwige na he regules beboda þa læstan for-hogi-
bundus exhibeat, ne regulæ præceptorum minima parvi-
ende for-gæge ⁊ swa cweþendum apostole ealra
pendendo prætereat, ac sic dicente Apostolo, omnium
beboda ꝥ na si scyldig he wunige.
mandatorum, quod absit, reus existat.

Bale and Pits give the following titles of works attributed to Dunstan, in addition to those mentioned above: Ordinationes Cleri, lib. i.; Leges Decimarum, lib. i.; Contra Sacerdotes malos ad Papam, lib. i.; Solutiones Dubiorum Eucharistiæ, lib. i.; Epistolæ ad diversos, lib. i.; Epistolarum contra Edwinum, lib. i.; Benedictionarium archiepiscopale, lib. i. The last is perhaps the Benedic-

tional preserved in the Cottonian library (MS. Cotton. Claudius, A. III.). The other titles are evidently the mere creations of the bibliographers; it is altogether improbable that Dunstan should have published a book of letters against king Edwy.

The most extensive and important of Dunstan's writings is not mentioned in the old lists, although a copy of it is preserved in the British Museum (MS. Reg. 10 A. XIII). It consists of a voluminous commentary on the Benedictine Rule, resembling the other scholastic commentaries of the Middle Ages, and probably contains the substance of the lectures on the "Rule" delivered in the early monastic schools at Glastonbury, Abingdon, &c. In this commentary, Dunstan takes first the words of the text, and then proceeds to explain or amplify the directions there given, and frequently to comment on the meaning and derivation of the words themselves, and on the grammatical constructions. The following extract will serve to convey an idea of the character of this work.*

Delicias non amplecti. Non enim prohibet delicias tangere, vel gustare, sed cum aviditate sumere, et cum amoris desiderio vetat amplecti. Spernitur enim jejunium quod in vespera deliciis compensatur, dicente propheta, Ecce in die jejunii vestri invenietur voluntas vestra. Voluntas enim hoc in loco delitiæ intelliguntur. Tota die epulas in cogitatione ruminat, qui ad implendam gulam vespere sibi delicias præparat. Et tale jejunium non laudatur, quando in vespere deliciosorum ciborum venter repletione distenditur. Neque enim reputanda est abstinentia, ubi fuerit ventris deliciosa saturitas subsecuta. Deliciæ enim carnales comesurum reddunt avidum satiatum, pigrum, et somnolentum. Deliciæ vero spirituales satiatum reddunt avidum et jocundum. Illæ commestæ generant fastidium, hæ autem comedenti augent desiderium. Illæ multum esæ aciem mentis obtundunt, hæ spirituale cordi lumen infundunt. Illæ somnolentiam, hæ vigilias subministrant. Illæ corpori simul et animæ præbent torporem, hæ autem mundis corde jugiter domini ministrant amorem. Illæ enim faciunt desiderare lectum, hæ autem cœlum; illæ somnum hæ vero regnum; illæ turpia et obscura quærunt cubicula, hæ sanctam cum sanctis et lucidam in cœlo volunt habere gloriam. Illæ delectant in lupanari cum scortis et meretricibus ludere, hæ

* MS. Reg. 10 A. xiii., fol. 46, r°. This work has not been printed.

cum angelis in cœlo regnare. Illæ luxuriosos amplexus desiderant, hæ ad amplexus Christi venire festinant, ut cum illo quasi sponsa cum sponso in æternum quiescant. Deliciæ vero appellantur, eo quod delicate nutriant comedentem, vel quod his homines delectentur. Faciunt enim in Dei servitium hominem mollem, tenerem, et delicatum. Et regione spirituales deliciæ faciunt hominem pro æterna capessenda gloria vividum, fortem, et rigidum. Et ideo istæ appetendæ sunt, illæ vero a monachis amplexandæ non sunt. Sed quid monachis amandum amplexandumque sit sequentia demonstrant.

Editions of Dunstan's Writings.

Dunstan's "Rule" is said by Pits to have been printed in 12mo. in Belgium, but we have not been able to meet with a copy, or with the title.

Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, sive Disceptatio Historica de Antiquitate Ordinis Congregationisque Monachorum Nigrorum Sancti Benedicti in Regno Angliæ . . . Opera et Industria R. P. Clementis Reyneri. fol. Duaci, 1626. Pars tertia, pp. 77—94. Regularis Concordia Anglicæ Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque orditur. The Latin text of Dunstan's Rule.

Georgii Riplæi Canonici Angli Opera Omnia Chemyca, &c. 12mo. Cassellis, 1649. pp. 240—289. Tractatus maximi domini Dunstani archiepiscopi Cantuariensis vere philosophi de lapide philosophorum.

OSWALD.*

Oswald, who shared with Dunstan and Ethelwold the honour of laying the foundation of monachism in England, was the nephew of Odo of Canterbury, and was, like him, of Danish parents, but Oswald's father was a convert to Christianity. In his childhood he was placed under Fri-

* A life of Oswald, by Eadmer, is printed in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 191. It appears to be little more than an abridgment of a life written by a monk of Ramsey in the time of archbishop Alfric, and preserved in MS. Cotton. Nero, E. i. A shorter anonymous Life, which is but an abridgment of Eadmer, is printed in Capgrave, Nov. Legend., in the Acta SS. Feb. tom. iii. p. 752, and in the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. V., p. 728. In the latter work, p. 735, are also given long extracts from the Ramsey Chronicle, relating to Oswald.

Lives of Oswald are attributed to Alfric, Folcard, and Senatus of Worcester, but they appear to be lost. In Leland and Tanner, Oswald is entered under the name *Odonius.*

degode, and made great progress in profane as well as theological learning.* His uncle Odo then called him to Canterbury, where he became a canon of the old minster; but he already shewed a preference for the stricter discipline of the monks, and, after remaining some time at Canterbury, separated by his manners and disposition from the married clergy among whom he lived, he passed over to France and entered the abbey of Fleury, then celebrated for the severity of its discipline. Oswald even there became distinguished above the generality of the monks for his rigid mode of life, and for his application to the studies of the place; and he had already attained to the grade of deacon, when he was importuned by frequent and pressing letters of his uncle to return to England. At length, sacrificing his inclinations to his duty, he quitted the retreat, to which he had become so much attached as to prefer it to his native country; but he only landed at Dover to hear the news of Odo's death. Oswald would have returned immediately to Fleury, but he was retained by his kinsman Oskitel, who had been promoted some time previously from the bishopric of Dorchester to the archbishopric of York, and who appears for some reason or other to have neglected to seek his pallium from Rome till the year of Odo's death, A.D. 961. He was now preparing for the journey, and took Oswald in his train; but on their arrival in France, the latter soon quitted his kinsman and went direct to Fleury, where he remained till Oskitel's return, who brought him back to England.†

They arrived in England when Dunstan was on the point of being elevated to the archbishopric of Canter-

* Eadmer, Vit. Osw. pp. 192, 193. Chron. Ramsiens. ap. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. V. p. 735.

† Eadmer, pp. 194--197. Wm. Malmsb. and others do not mention this second visit to Fleury.

bury, and who, equally unable to retain in his own hands a see so distant from his other dioceses as that of Worcester, and unwilling to resign it into the hands of a bishop who might be lukewarm in the cause he had most at heart, selected Oswald for his successor, and presented him to king Edgar. His long residence at Fleury, as well as his known love for monachism, pointed him out as a suitable instrument in the primate's hands. Oswald was consecrated bishop of Worcester in 962.* Mercia appears to have been the part of the kingdom where the secular clergy were most powerful, and where the monks met with the greatest opposition. Dunstan himself, as bishop of Worcester, had not been able to dislodge the married canons from his cathedral; and the arrival of Oswald only led to new disputes. After a long and ineffectual struggle, the bishop, in 969,† built a monastery and church near the cathedral, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and which at a subsequent period usurped the place of the more ancient church of St. Peter. Here he established a society of monks, whom he had brought from Fleury, together with a few others whom he had collected in England. The year after this occurrence archbishop Oskitel died, and was succeeded by a weak prelate named Ethelwold; his temper seems not to have been agreeable to Dunstan, who probably obtained his resignation, and in 672 the diocese of York was given to Oswald, who immediately hastened to Rome to obtain the pallium. Dunstan, at the same time, fearing for the new establishment at Worcester when its founder should be removed,

* Annal. Wigorn. ap. Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 472.

† Annal. Wigorn. ib. Florent. Wigorn. sub an. 969. Eadmer, Vit. Osw. p. 202. Chron. Ramsi. p. 741. Osbert. Vit. Dunstan. ap. Mab. p. 701. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 270. The two churches stood in the same churchyard (in eodem cœmeterio), and the people of Worcester sometimes attended service in one, and sometimes in the other.

obtained permission for Oswald to retain the bishopric of Worcester along with the archbishopric, and it appears that subsequently he spent more of his time at Worcester than at York.*

Oswald had shared with Dunstan and Ethelwold the favour of the king, and was an active assistant in all their plans of reform. He was present at the councils called by Dunstan to suppress the married priests, but he seems to have had little success in reforming the clergy of Mercia, till after the triumph of the monks at the conference at Calne, in 978; after which event he drove the clerks "who preferred their wives to the church" from seven churches in his diocese, all which he filled with monks.† In 983, he established twelve monks of Fleury at Westbury; in the following year he placed monks in the monastery at Pershore; and in 985 he introduced them into the abbey of Winchcombe.‡ In 986, Oswald established the important foundation of Ramsey, the site of which was given by Earl Aylwin.§ Among the foreign monks whom he brought to this place, one of the first was the celebrated scholar Abbo of Fleury, who established here a school which exercised a wide influence on Anglo-Saxon science in the following age.|| Abbo stood high in the favour of Dunstan, and at his request he compiled a life of St.

* Eadmer, pp. 203, 204. Annal. Wigorn. ib.

† Eadmer, p. 201.

‡ Annal. Wigorn. pp. 472, 473.

§ The Annal. Wigorn. p. 473, place the foundation of Ramsey at this date. Osbern, Vit. Osw. and the Chron. Rames. carry it a few years earlier. The chronology of these foundations is somewhat obscure.

|| Hunc pater Oswaldus posuit in cœnobio Ramesiensi monachos docere, scholas regere, et quibuscunque valeret cum in disciplina regularium tum in scientia liberali prodesse. Quod et fecit. Hinc ergo processit, ut cum religionis augmento liberales artes, quæ prius ob diversos casus in neglectum per Angliam venerant, quaquaversum patris Oswaldi industria et sollicitudine eventilatæ multipliciter pullularent. Eadmer, p. 201. Conf. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. Angl p. 270.

Edmund, which is still preserved. After having remained two years at Ramsey, he returned to France, probably after Dunstan's death, to become abbot of Fleury.* Mabillon mentions as existing in MS. in his time a treatise (or letter) on Grammar, addressed by Abbo to the monks of Ramsey, probably after he had quitted their society.

In the midst of his new foundations, Oswald had at last the satisfaction of converting or ejecting the married clergy of Worcester. The contending parties who occupied the two churches held their ground during several years, and preserved their individual opinions and independence. But the monks, by their novelty and their superior external sanctity, gained favour in the eyes of the people; till at length, when the priests saw the monks triumphant throughout England, they also yielded to the fate of their brethren, and their superior, named Wensine, voluntarily took the monastic habit. Oswald survived Dunstan four years. On the 8th of November 991, he consecrated the church of Ramsey; † and after a longer residence than usual at that place, he returned to Worcester, where he was soon afterwards attacked by illness which carried him off very suddenly. He died on the 28th of February, 992, and was buried in the church of Worcester.‡

Four books have been attributed to Oswald, none of which are known to exist at present: a book of letters to his uncle Odo; a letter or treatise addressed to Abbo, beginning with the words, "Præscientia Dei monachus;" a book *ad sanctos dum esset Floriaci*, beginning with the

* Eadmer, ib. Anon. Vit. Oswald. in Act. SS. Bened. Sæc. V. p. 730. Chron. Rames. ib. p. 741. Vita Abbonis, in Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. VI. part i. p. 40. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 270.

† Annal. Wigorn. p. 473. Eadmer, p. 208.

‡ Saxon Chron. sub. an. Annales Wigorn. ib. Eadmer, p. 210.

words, "Oswaldus supplex monachus;" and, Statuta synodalia.* The only ground for the first of these titles appears to be the statement of his biographers that, in answer to Odo's letter begging him to return to England, he wrote excuses for staying at Fleury. It is difficult to judge of the authenticity of the other three, since they rest on the simple statement of the old bibliographers.

Minor Writers.—Aio, Fulbertus, Bricstan.

Contemporary with the prelates of whom we have been speaking, lived a historian of the abbey of Croyland, known to us only through the account given of him by Ingulf. His name was Aio; he had been a monk of the religious house just mentioned, and in 941, when after the death of king Athelstan it had fallen into a state of complete desolation, he left it to seek an asylum at Malmsbury. He was recalled to Croyland by the abbot Turketel, when the abbey was restored to prosperity in 946, along with another learned man of the same house named Brun, who had found shelter at Winchester. They both died in one year, 974, and were buried by Turketel in the choir of the church. The abbot had previously assigned the task of compiling the history of Croyland to Aio, as being profoundly acquainted with the documents of the old abbey that had been destroyed, to Turgar, who in his youth had been a witness of the destruction of the abbey, and to another monk named Swetman: these three completed the history to the fourteenth year of the reign of king Edgar, 963-4, at which time it appears to have been

* Tanner, in *Odonius*.

written.* Turgar alone, then a mere child, had been spared by the Danes, when they murdered the monks of Croyland in 870; and the great age to which he would have attained in 963 seems to throw some discredit on Ingulf's story. It was this Turgar also who supplied the materials from which a Croyland poet named Bricstanus or Bristanus (who is only mentioned by Ingulf) composed an elegy on the destruction of the monastery, from which Ingulf, in whose time it was extant, quotes the two first lines:—

> Quomodo sola sedes dudum regina domorum,
> Nobilis ecclesia, et nuper amica Dei.†

Among the writers of this period is mentioned Fulbertus, or Foldbriht, the first abbot of Oswald's monastery of Pershore, to whom, on the authority of Ralph de Diceto,‡ homilies and epistles are attributed. We learn from the Annals of Worcester that he was made abbot at the foundation of that house in 984, and from the same authority it would appear that he died in the year 988, but was restored to life by Oswald's prayers; § the date of his death appears not to be known.|| He has been confounded by some writers with Fulbertus Carnotensis; this has added to the uncertainty which prevails as to the amount and nature of his writings.

* Ingulfi Hist. Croyland. ed. Gale, pp. 28, 32, 48, 51.

† Ingulf. ib. p. 24.

‡ Ap. Tanner, in *Fuldebertus*.

§ Sanctus Oswaldus suis precibus resuscitavit Fulbertum abbatem Persoræ. Annal. Wigorn. ap. Wharton, p. 43.

|| He is mentioned in Edgar's charter to Pershore (of rather doubtful authenticity) as being dead.

LANTFREDUS.

Lantfredus, or Lamfridus,* was one of the disciples of bishop Ethelwold of Winchester, and is known only by his work on the posthumous miracles of St. Swithun, composed apparently a few years after the discovery of that saint's relics, probably by Ethelwold's orders. We know nothing of his history or character except from his own statement, in his introductory epistle addressed to the monks of the old minster, that he was a monk and presbyter, and from the assertion in the rubric of a very early manuscript of his work that he was "doctor eximius." A Saxon version of part of this work appears to have been in the possession of Joscelin.† Bale and Pits attribute to him, but without any authority, a life of Swithun.

The work of Lantfredus is interesting only because the incidents contained in it, although disfigured by the superstitious sentiments of the age, afford important illustrations of the manners and history of the period. His style is very inflated, and it is rendered obscure by the adoption of numerous words formed from the Greek language, in which respect it is characteristic of the Latin literature of that time. The following extract from the introductory epistle, describing the origin and progress of the church in England, is taken from the manuscript copy of the book preserved in the old Royal Library, in the British Museum.‡

* The first of these forms appears to be the correct one, as it is found in the splendid and nearly contemporary manuscript of the British Museum, MS. Reg. 15 C. VII.

† Tanner, in *Lamfridus*.

‡ This epistle seems to have met with many admirers, for it is not unfrequently found separately in MS. Collections of Letters of Alcuin and others.

Denique ymeris septies septenis typice completis post gloriosam ejus anastasim, Consolator Spiritus a Genito promissus, a Genitore missus, ab utroque progressus, compar ambobus et coæternus, repentino fragore ignis instar et linguae proseucam irruit, quo latebant fornifori metu tribulum territi, quorum corda complevit sancti tanta infusione carismatis, ut in una etiam apostolorum vaticinatione pariter eadem tempestate dinoscerentur sermones omnium consona voce populorum. Qui divino referti pneumate, foribus patefactis citissime Christum prædicabant publice, quem dudum septi firmo munimine, auribus vulgi non audebant vaticinari. Moxque conversis ad fidem paucis ex eorum consanguineis, respuentibus sanam cæteris doctrinam, didascali adimplentes veriloqui mathites quæ infit jussionem euntes in omnem dogmatizantes orbem, evangelium humanæ omni creaturæ, Judaici relicta erroris perfidia, optione bis senas sortiti provincias totiusque gentilitatis fines adgressi, pene universum Deo favente cosmum, quaterno climate quadrifidum, ad Christianæ fidei religionem, et ad sanctæ trinitatis agnitionem, signis virtutibusque miraculorum credulitatem præbentibus converterunt, quorum equiperatores novissime ad gentes pervenerunt felices, in Britanniæ limitibus commorantes, quæ nuncupantur Angli Saxones, etiam nunc compeditas nexibus Zabuleis, turificantesque dæmonum simulacris, necne varias antiquæ malignitatis illusiones pro Deo rerum auctore venerantes. Quas ideo felices prædico, quoniam mox audito veritatis lumine, relicta dæmoniacæ pravitatis caligine susceperunt Christianitatem absque doctorum strage; quam gentes ceteræ noscuntur suscepisse, cum cruoris testium respersione multorum. Gentes nimirum præfatæ Anglorum, cum tantæ sitibundo ardore devotionis sperma divini percepere rematis, ut etiam in fide religionis Catholicæ, non solum pontifices, cœnobitæ, et abbates, verum reges, reginæ, ac satrapæ, quamquam haud omnes, tamen perplures extiterint religiosiores monachis quamplurimis. Quapropter idem Dominus Messias Jesus contulit tantam præfatæ nationi gratiam, quatenus sanctos fere innumerabiles ex privis contribulibus possideret, per virtutem Domini curantes totius insulæ ægros, diversis languoribus oppressos. Sit benedictus noster Dominus sother Christus, qui, assumpta nostræ infirmitatis idea, nos liberavit ab æternæ dampnationis pœna quam ille priscus cerestes olim primogenito intulit, fraudis inventa versutæ nequitia, qui dum concupivit creatori majestati similis fieri, cum foret cunctarum excellentissimus creaturarum, effectus est omnibus deterior rebus, detrususque tetri in ima tartari, etiam nunc impia jugis luens tormenta livoris, quod homo inferior natura, utpote ex terrena corporatus massa, de qua nefanda pulsus est contumacia, perpetualiter cœlestem possessurus est amœnitatem.

Editions of Lantfredus.

Henry Wharton, Anglia Sacra, tom. i. fol. Lond. 1691, p. 322. Lantfredi Epistola præmissa Historiæ de Miraculis Swithini.

Acta Sanctorum Julii, tom i. fol. Antw. 1719, pp. 328—337. Swithuni Vita et Miracula, per Lamfridum Monachum Wint.

WOLSTAN.

Wolstan or Wulstan (or, more properly, Wulfstan) was a monk of Winchester, and is one of the small number of bishop Ethelwold's disciples whose writings are left. William of Malmsbury says that he was a *cantor* of the church of Winchester, and that he composed a work of great utility, On the Harmony of Tones.* He seems to have been distinguished as a poet, and, at the request of bishop Alfheh (Ethelwold's successor), described in Latin verse the Miracles of St. Swithun, as they had been told by Lantfredus. This work, which is not mentioned by William of Malmsbury, is still extant, and is a remarkable monument of the Anglo-Latin poetry of the tenth century. Although undeserving of the extravagant praise bestowed upon it by Leland, it contains many tolerable passages, and is much superior to any other Latin poetry written in England during that period. It has not yet been printed.† The book itself is written in hexameter verse; but the prologue, which is addressed to Alfheh, is in elegiacs. Wolstan there speaks of himself as "ultimus Anglorum servulus hymnicinum," (the last word being explained in a gloss by *cantorum*,) and he apologises for his incapacity for the undertaking,

> Sit licet ægra mihi sine dogmatis igne loquela,
> Nec valeam tanto scribere digna viro;
> Hoc tamen exiguum quod defero munus amoris
> Commendare tibi, magne pater, studui.

In this introduction, Wolstan gives an account of

* Fecit et aliud opus de tonorum harmonia valde utile. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 56. Wolstan is also mentioned in Eadmer and Florence of Worcester.

† An early copy of it is contained in MS. Reg. 15 C. VII. along with the work of Lantfridus. There are other manuscripts of Wolstan's work.

the rebuilding of the church of Winchester. The following extract from the same poem, which contains a description of the trial by ordeal as used by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, will give an idea of the poet's general style.*

De homine qui nuda manu ignitum calibem portavit.

Nobilis interea Flodoaldus onomate quidam
Multiplices possedit opes, qui gnarus in urbe
Uuentana mercator erat, prudenter in omni
Re, semet circumspiciens, cui vernula quidam
Servili ditione fuit subjectus, eumque
Dilexit nimium, quia noverat esse fidelem.
Prenditur is subito quodam pro crimine casu,
Præsidis Eadrici fit ductus et ante tribunal,
Regia quem tenuit tum villula nomine Calne.
Mandat ut hunc vigilum teneat custodia, donec
Illius adveniat quem jam prædiximus heros,
Portaret nudaque manu carbone rubentem
Ignitum calibem, foret inculpabilis etsi
Pergeret incolomis, si vero noxius esset
Plecteret hunc gladio tortor cervice retecto.
Comperit hoc senior, properat festinus et illo
Quo sibi dilectus jacet inter vincula servus,
Præfectum regisque petit quo linqueret omne
Judicium clementer, et ut sibi subderet ipsum
Servili ditione hominem sine clade pericli.
Abnuit ille preci, rursumque edixit ut idem
Iret ad examen, calibem gereretque rubentem.
Condoluit nimium servi pro morte Flotholdus;
Rursus ad Eadricum pergit cum munere, et illi,
"Hanc," ait, "argenti libram tibi confero puri,
Nec minus et servum tibi, quo famuletur in ævum,
Linquere ut examen tantum digneris, et iste
Effugiat vivus pro quo sum tanta locutus."
His multisque aliis oranti corde laborat,
Dedecus hoc quoniam patienti mente nequibat
Ferre, suum famulum se coram morte necari;
Quinetiam tristes simul accessere parentes
Ejusdem famuli, donaria multaque spondent
Præfecto regis, quoniam cupiere propinquum
Eruere a turpis patefacto limine mortis.

* MS. Reg. 15 C. VII. fol. 106, r°.

In vanum cuncti votis precibusque laborant ;
Sprevit eos tumidus mundi pro fascibus omnes ;
Jussit adesse hominem ; timidus stetit ille vocatus,
Ignis adestque ingens, et mandat ut ipse ministri
Projiciunt sarmenta rogo, flammæque voraci
Inmittunt rigidam nimio cum pondere massam,
Quæ statim prunis recalescit et igne rubescit.
Tum jubet ignitum judex producere ferrum ;
Paret ei famulus, productus ab igne calibsque
Exarsit candens, scintillat, et undique fervens
Stipitibus geminis solitoque imponitur, et mox
Compulit ipsum hominem massam portare coactus.
Accessit, nudaque manu timide excipit illam,
Et portat calibem multo carbone rubentem ;
Protinus incandens arsura replevit, et ingens
Illius volam nimio turgore perustam,
Signaturque manus statim de more sigillo,
Usque diem quem Phœbus agit lustramine terno.

The only other work by Wolstan now extant, is the Life of his master bishop Ethelwold, written in Latin prose, in a style below mediocrity,* as the following extract will serve to show.

Tempore quodam hiemali cum fratres secundum Regulæ edictum tempcrius ad vigilias surgerent et nocturno intervallo psalmodiæ et lectioni inservirent, quidam monachus nomine Teodricus ad Dei hominem perrexit, volens indiciis de quadam necessitate ei indicare, eumque luminis candelabrum manu tenentem reperit et legentem et sedula agilitate palpebrarum seniles obtutus acuentem : ibique diutius stetit attendens quàm studiose oculos paginæ infigeret. Surrexit tandem vir sanctus a lectione, et ille frater residens accepit candelam cœpitque legere, probans utrum et ipse posset oculos suos sanos ad legendum tam diligenter acuere sicut Episcopum suos caligantes fecisse viderat. Sed illa temeritas non impune evenit illi. Nam sequenti nocte cum membra sopori dedisset, apparuit ei quidam vultu incognitus terribili comminatione dicens ad eum, " Qua temeritate præsumsisti exprobrare Episcopum præterita nocte in legendo?" Cumque tremefactus se hoc fecisse negaret, ille torvis in eum intuens luminibus, " Non potes," inquit, " me fallendo ludere sicut æstimas : sed hoc signum tuæ præsumtionis habeas." Et hæc dicens incussit violenter ictum oculis ejus digito suo, statimque dolor oculorum validus secutus est, qui eum multis diebus vehementer affligebat, donec satisfactione culpam deleret quam in sanctum virum incaute commisit.

Bale attributes also to Wolstan a life of king Ethel-

* This work is mentioned by William of Malmsbury, who describes it as written "stylo mediocri." De Gest. Reg. Angl. p. 56.

wulf, perhaps from a confusion of the names of Ethelwulf and Ethelwold.

Edition of Wolstan.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum V. fol. Lut. Paris, 1685. pp. 608—624. Wolstan's Life of Ethelwold.—pp. 628—635. The Introduction to the metrical history of the Miracles of St. Swithun.

BRIDFERTH.

One of the most eminent teachers of the school at Ramsey was Bridferth, known chiefly by his Commentaries on the Scientific Treatises of Bede. Very little is known of Bridferth's personal history. He is said to have been a disciple of Abbo of Fleury; * and, as Leland says that he was called by some *Thorneganus*, it is not improbable that he had first been a monk of Thorney, and that after the foundation of Ramsey by Oswald, he had removed thither to join himself with Abbo. From a passage in his life of Dunstan,† it would appear that he was personally acquainted with the earlier disciples of that prelate, and had resided at Canterbury. It has not hitherto been observed that Bridferth had pursued his studies in France; though in his commentary on Bede, De Temporum Ratione, he mentions an observation which he had himself made at Thionville.‡ Bale says that Bridferth flourished about A.D. 980. All the known allusions to him seem to concur in pointing him out as the most eminent English mathematician of the latter part of the tenth century.

* Wharton, Angl. Sacr. tom. ii. pref. p. ix.

† Bridferth, Vit. Dunst. fol. 74, r°.

‡ Ego autem in Gallia in loco qui Teotonis villa dicitur constitutus, status mei umbram metiens, novendecim pedes et semis inveni. Bed. Op. tom. ii. p. 103.

Bridferth's commentaries on the two treatises of Bede De Natura Rerum and De Temporum Ratione are extremely valuable for the light they throw on the method of teaching in the Anglo-Saxon schools. They are probably nothing more than notes of the lectures delivered in the school at Ramsey. Bede's treatises were still the text books of the Anglo-Saxon scholars. In commenting upon them, Bridferth adduced various kinds of illustrations. Sometimes he supports the statements of Bede by slight numerical calculations. In some instances he explains the meaning of the text, where the words of the original appeared to him not sufficiently clear; thus, when Bede says (De Nat. Rer. cap. 11) that stars never fall from heaven, though people see sparks flying about with the wind, Bridferth explains more fully the meaning of his writer by saying that, "although we see sparks fall from the air, which common people suppose to be stars falling from the firmanent; yet it is not so, but while the wind flies through the air, it touches the æther also, and carries thence with it sparks which glitter like stars." * Sometimes Bridferth amplifies and adds to his original, as in the following instances :—

Die autem primo lux facta est. Lux quæ primo die facta est, non adeo clara erat, sicut nunc ista est : quia aquis omnia repleta erant, quamvis minus densis, at subtilissimis. (De Nat. Rer. c. ii.)

Quæ (elementa) tamen quadam naturæ propinquitate sibimet ita commiscentur, ut terra quidem arida et frigida, frigidæ aquæ : aqua vero frigida et humida, humido aeri : porro aer humidus et calidus, calido igni : ignis quoque calidus et aridus terræ societur aridæ. De Syzygiis, id est, conjunctionibus elementorum, pauca dicit. Omne namque corporeum quatuor sæpe dictis constat elementis, quorum unumquodque duas habet qualitates, unam propriam, alteram vero alterius elementi, sicut in terra frigiditas et ariditas. Ariditas ergo propria est terræ qualitas : frigiditas non propria

* *Quamvis videamus igniculos ex æthere lapsos portari ventis.* Quamvis igniculos ex æthere videamus labi, quod vulgus videns putat cadere stellas a firmamento, sed non ita fit, sed dum ventus aera pervolat, ætherem etiam tangit, et inde scintillas in modum stellarum radiantes secum aufert.

terræ, sed aquæ ; sic et de cæteris. Nam frigiditas propria est aquæ qualitas, humiditas vero ab aere illi venit. Sic aeris humiditas propria, at caliditas ex igne descendit. Similiter et ignis propria est caliditas, sed ariditatem de terra sumit. Sex igitur qualitatibus syzygiæ sunt. Quarum quatuor dicuntur immediatæ et nexæ, non egentes medietate qua conjungantur. Ignis enim caliditas cum terrena frigiditate conjungitur in siccitate. Rursus aquæ humiditas copulatur cum terrena siccitate in frigiditate. Caliditas vero aeris cum frigiditate aquæ conjungitur in humiditate. Aeris vero humiditas cum ignea siccitate conjungitur in caliditate. Hæ sunt quatuor quæ dicuntur immediatæ et nexæ. Restant duæ quæ dicuntur mediatæ et dissonæ, quia non possunt sibi conjungi sine medio, obstante qualitatum diversitate. Ignis enim calidus et siccus cum aqua humida et frigida conjungi non potest sine medio, id est, sine terra. Rursus aer humidus et calidus cum terra, quæ frigida est et sicca, conjungi non potest sine medio, id est aqua, quæ locum tenet medietatis, et conjungit utrumque. (De Nat. R. c. iv.)

Sometimes these commentaries become mere explanations and derivations of words, as in the following example:—

Stellæ et sidera inter se differunt. Nam stella est quælibet singularis a stando dicta, quia semper in cœlo fixa stat: Sidera vero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades et Pleiades. Astra autem stellæ sunt grandes, ut Orion, Bootes. Sed hæc nomina scriptores confundunt, dum et astra pro stellis, et stellas pro sideribus ponunt.

In these commentaries Bridferth quotes the authorities of the fathers of the church, as Clemens, Augustine, Ambrose, Eusebius, Jerome, Isidore, &c.; with those also of Latin writers of a different class, such as Pliny, Macrobius, Marcus Varro, Terentianus, Priscian, Hyginus, and Marcianus Capella; and he frequently cites the Latin poets Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Persius, Terence, and Lucan, as writers well known to his readers.

Bridferth's Commentary on the tract De Temporum Ratione is full and copious; that on the book De Natura Rerum is much more brief, and extends only to the thirty-sixth chapter. He has also left shorter comments on the tracts De Indigitatione and De Ratione Unciarum, published under the name of Bede. Pits attributes to Bridferth two other works, De Principiis Mathematicis, lib. i.

and De Institutione Monachorum, lib. i., but of which nothing further is known.*

Only two Manuscripts of the Life of Dunstan are known, that from which it was printed in the Acta Sanctorum, and the Cottonian Manuscript in the British Museum. The former contained the preface of the author, who only gives there the initial letter of his name, "B. Sacerdos;" but Mabillon † conjectured on very fair grounds that the name was Bridferth, and his opinion appears to have been generally adopted. An extract from this work, which is by much the most valuable biography of Dunstan, will afford the best specimen of Bridferth's general style of writing. The following is his account of the violent scene at Edwy's coronation, in consequence of which Dunstan was banished.‡

Post hunc surrexit Eadwig filius Eadmundi regis, ætate quidem juvenis parvaque regnandi gratia pollens, licet in utraque plebe regum numeros nominaque suppleret electus. Huic quædam, licet natione præcelsa, inepta mulier cum adulta filia, per nefandum familiaritatis lenocinium sectando, inhærebat, eotenus, videlicet, quo sese vel etiam natam suam sub conjugali titulo illi innectendo sociaret. Quas ille, ut aiunt, alternatim, quod jam pudet dicere, turpi palpatu et absque pudore utriusque libidinose trectavit. Et cum tempore statuto ab universis Anglorum principibus communi electione ungueretur et consecraretur in regem, die eodem post regale sacræ institutionis unguentum repente prosilivit lascivus, linquens læta convivia vel decibiles optimatum suorum consessiones, ad prædictum scelus lenocinii. Et cum vidisset summus pontificum Oda regis petulantiam maxime in consecrationis suæ die omni per gyrum consedenti senatui displicere, ait coepiscopis suis et cæteris principibus, "Eant quæso quilibet ex vobis ad reducendum regem, quo sit ut condecet in hoc regali convivio suorum satellitum jocundus consessor." At illi molestiam regis vel mulierum querimoniam incurrisse metuentes, singuli se subtrahentes recusare cœperunt. Ad extremum vero elegerunt ex omnibus duos quos animo constantissimos noverant, Dunstanum scilicet abbatem, et Cynesium episcopum, ejus consanguineum, ut omnium jussui obtemperantes, regem volentem vel nolentem reducerent

* Wanley describes a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, containing miscellaneous scientific matter in Latin and Saxon, in which Bridforth's name occurs more than once, and which appears to contain some of his works.

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. V. p. 654.

‡ MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. XIII. fol. 76, r°.

ad relictam sedem. Et ingressi juxta principum suorum præcepta, invenerunt regiam coronam, quæ miro metallo auri vel argenti gemmarumque vario nitore conserta splendebat, procul a capite ad terram usque negligenter avulsam, ipsumque more maligno inter utrasque, velut in vili suillorum volutabro creberrime volutantem, et dixerunt ei, " Nostri nos proceres ad te rogitando miserunt, ut eas quantocius ad condignum sessionis tuæ triclinium, et ne spernas optimatum tuorum lætis interesse conviviis." At Dunstanus primum increpitans mulierum ineptias, manu sua dum nollet exsurgere extraxit eum de mœchali ganearum accubitu, inpositoque diademate, duxit eum secum licet vi a mulieribus raptum ad regale consortium. Tunc eadem Æthelgifu, sic erat nomen ignominiosæ mulieris, inanes orbes oculorum contra venerandum abbatem ferventi furore retorsit, inquiens, " hujusmodi hominem ultra modum esse magnanimum, qui regis in secretum temerarius intraret." Audivimus enim in veterum regum libellis Jezabelem, errore gentilitatis et vipereo veneno perfusam, die nocteque in prophetas Dei amara detestatione sævisse, et in montem usque non persequi destitisse. Ita et hæc inpudens virago, ex hac die prædicta eodem Jezabelis flatu venenifero perfusa, licet nomine Christiano uteretur indigna, virum Dei Dunstanum consiliis inimicabilibus persequi non quievit, quousque pestiferam execrationis suæ voluntatem cum adaucta regis inimicitia adimpleret.

Editions of Bridferth.

Venerabilis Bedæ Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis Opera. fol. Colon. Agrip. 1612. tom. i. pp. 128—131, Bridferth's Gloss on Bede De Indigitatione.—p. 142, Bridferth's Gloss on the tract de Ratione Unciarum. tom. ii.—pp. 1—29, Bridferth's Commentary on Bede De Natura Rerum.—pp. 45—99 (properly 139), Bridferth's Commentary on Bede De Temporum Ratione. These Commentaries are reprinted in other editions of Bede's works.

Acta Sanctorum, Maii, tom. iv. fol. Antverpiæ, 1685, pp. 346—358. Bridferth's Life of Dunstan, imperfect.

ALFRIC OF MALMSBURY.

Of Alfric of Malmsbury (or, as he is called by some, Alfred,*) and of his writings, we can gather very little certain information. He is said to have been originally a monk of Glastonbury under Dunstan, by whom, at the appointment of king Edgar, he was consecrated abbot of Malmsbury in 974. His name occurs as a witness to

* He has a double entry in Tanner, under the heads *Alfredus* and *Ealfridus*.

Edgar's charter to Ramsey in that year,* and to a charter of the same king to the old minster at Winchester in the year following. In 990 Alfric was chosen to succeed Sideman in the bishopric of Crediton, which he held, according to Godwin, till his death in 999. But this date can scarcely be correct, as the name of his successor Alfwold appears in the list of Bishops in the Cottonian manuscript, Tiberius B. v. which cannot have been written later than 994 or 995; † we must therefore suppose that Alfric filled the see of Crediton during a very short period. Accordingly, William of Malmsbury tells us that he lived only four years after his elevation to the bishopric.‡ The same writer says that he was a learned man; and that, as abbot and bishop, he was alike distinguished for his love of building and for the rigour with which he persecuted the secular clergy.§ The old bibliographers attribute to Alfric of Malmsbury a scientific treatise, *De naturis rerum*, and a history of his abbey, *De rebus sui cœnobii*. No such works, however, are now known to exist. William of Malmsbury has wrongly attributed to this Alfric the writings of Alfred of Canterbury.||

* The authority of which, however, appears liable to suspicion.

† Printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 169.

‡ W. Malmsb. Vit. Aldhelmi, ap. Wharton, p. 23.

§ Tum vero Dunstanus ibidem Ealfridum, [leg. Ealfricum] cui multum religionis, plurimum vero literarum inesse cognoverat, abbatem constituit. Nec multo post in Cridiodunensem episcopum, qui nunc Exoniensis, virum singularis utrobique industriæ, hic in construendis ædificiis, ibi in refrænandis clericis." W. Malmsb. Vit. Dunstan. ap. Leland, p. 162. In his history of the kings, Malmsbury calls him Alfric. — Quorum unum nomine, *Elrricum*, virum in omnibus ecclesiasticum, &c. De Gest. Reg. p. 58.

|| W. Malmsb. Vit. Aldhelm. ib.

ALFRIC OF CANTERBURY.

No Anglo-Saxon writer has excited so much interest in modern times by his works as Alfric 'the grammarian,' as he has been generally named, from his grammar; and yet there are few whose personal history is involved in so much confusion and uncertainty.* This arises in part from the name having been extremely common among the Anglo-Saxons, and from the difficulty of identifying the author of the different books which bear this name by internal evidence. Leland separated one Alfric into three, and Bale gave each of these three a distinct chapter. On the other hand, Usher joined three into one, confounding Alfric of Canterbury with Alfric of York and Alfric of Malmsbury. The historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as William of Malmsbury and Matthew Paris, do not seem to have escaped from the same confusion.

Alfric is said to have been descended from a noble family, his father being ealderman or earl of Kent.‡ When young, his education was entrusted to one of the secular priests, who, as he says, could with difficulty un-

* Henry Wharton wrote a learned "Dissertatio utrum Elfricus Grammaticus?" (printed in the Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 125,) to prove that the grammarian was Alfric of York. His argumemts were assailed by Mores in a book on this subject published posthumously by Thorkelin (under the title, Edwardi-Rowei Moresi de Ælfrico, Dorobernensi Archiepiscopo, Commentarius: edidit Grimus Johannis Thorkelin. 4to. London, 1789), who insists that the grammarian was the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wharton's opinion has been more recently brought forward and advocated by the author of 'Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a regular dissection of the Saxon Chronicle' (8vo. London, 1830), in which Wharton's Dissertation is reprinted. This last writer appears not to have known the book by Mores.

† M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. S. Albani, p. 42.

derstand Latin, and from whose misconduct he seems to have derived a contempt for the whole class of secular clergy.* When Ethelwold opened the monastic school at Abingdon, about 960, Alfric left his former teacher to become one of his scholars, and it is probable that he accompanied him afterwards from Abingdon to Winchester.† This Alfric is generally supposed to be the same who was made abbot of St. Alban's in 969,‡ and who, according to Matthew Paris, composed the form of service in honour of that saint which was still in use in the time of Leland.§ It must be observed, however, that the account Matthew Paris gives of the abbot Alfric is quite inconsistent with everything we know of Alfric the grammarian and archbishop of Canterbury; he says that he had previously lived a secular life, and that he had been chancellor to king Ethelred. We think it more probable that Alfric remained at Winchester, until A. D. 988 or 989, when he was sent by Alfheh, then bishop of Winchester, to regu-

* Hwilon ic wiste þæt sum mæsse-preost, se þe mín magister wæs ón þam tíman, hæfde þa bóc Genesis, and he cuþe bedæle Lyden únderstándan. Alfric's Preface to Genesis. *Once I knew that a certain mass-priest, who was my master at that time, had the book of Genesis, and he could scarcely understand Latin.* He says immediately afterwards, ðа úngelæredan preostas, gif hi hwæt litles understándað of þam Lyden bócum, þonne þincð him sona þæt hi magon mære láreowas beón, *the unlearned priests, if they know some little of the Latin books, they fancy soon that they may be great scholars.*

† Ego Ælfricus alumnus Athelwoldi benevoli et venerabilis præsulis. Latin Preface to the Homilies. Nos contenti sumus sicut didicimus in schola Athelwoldi venerabilis præsulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuit. Latin Preface to the Grammar.

‡ Eadmer, Vit. S. Oswald, p. 201.

§ Iste visione præmonitus Sancti Albani, quam nunc cantator composuit historiam, et eidem notam melicam adaptavit, et auctoritate fratris sui archiepiscopi multis locis Angliæ fecit publicari, diemque ejusdem martyris honorari, statuens ut die Jovis (nisi præoccupatur legitimis temporibus) missa de ipso pertinentiis solemniter celebretur. M. Paris, Vit. Abb. S. Alb. p. 43. Alfricum . . . quem constat D. Albani Liturgiam, qua etiam nunc monachi ibidem utuntur, exarasse. Leland, de Script. Brit. vol. i. p. 170.

late or govern the newly established abbey of Cerne, in Dorsetshire, at the request of the founder, ealderman Ethelmer.* He states that at this time he was a monk and presbyter (mæsse-preost). Alfric evidently lived for some time under the patronage of Ethelmer and his son ealderman Ethelward, at whose request he wrote several of his books, and more especially his large collection of Anglo-Saxon homilies, consisting of two series, one composed soon after he went to Cerne, apparently in the year 990, the other about the end of 991, after the Danish invasion of that year which is alluded to in it. In the MS. of the homilies now preserved in the public library of the university of Cambridge, and which is supposed to be in Alfric's own hand-writing, he states that he had written a copy of these homilies for Ethelward, in which, at his desire, he had inserted four more homilies than in the manuscript just mentioned.† It was also at Ethelward's request, that Alfric made his translation of Genesis; and it was probably at the instigation of Ethelmer that he abridged the 'rule' of Ethelwold for the monks of his other foundation of Eynsham in Oxfordshire, whom he had visited and of whom he appears to have had the direction: in the preface to this book he states that he had passed many years in Ethelwold's school.‡ It may be observed that at this

* Ic . . . . wearð asend on Æðelredes dæge cyninges fram Ælfeage biscope Aðelwoldes æfter-gengan to sumum mynstre þe is Cernel ge-haten þurh Æðelmæres bene þæs þegenes. Præf. to Homilies, Wanley, p. 153.

† Quid necesse est in hoc codice capitula ordinare, cum prædiximus quod .xl. sententias in se contineat, excepto quod Æthelwerdus dux vellet habere .xl. quattuor in suo libro. Wanley, p. 153.

‡ Ælfricus abbas Egneshamensibus fratribus salutem in Christo. Ecce video vobiscum degens vos necesse habere, quin nuper rogatu Æthelmeri ad monachicum habitum ordinati estis, &c. . . . Fateor me valde timide idipsum sumere, sed nec audeo omnia vobis intimare quæ *in schola ejus degens multis annis* de moribus seu consuetudinibus didici. MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambr. No. 265.

period Alfric generally speaks of himself by the title of abbot.

The next event in the life of Alfric is his promotion to the bishopric of Wilton. He is generally supposed to have immediately succeeded Sigeric in 989, or 990, when this prelate was removed to Canterbury; but this is inconsistent with his residence at Cerne. Moreover, Alfric gives himself the simple title of monk in the dedication of his homilies to archbishop Sigeric in 990 or 991. It is most probable that there was another bishop of Wilton between Sigeric and Alfric, or that there was a vacancy in the see. In the Anglo-Saxon list of bishops composed, as appears from internal evidence, not earlier than 994, in which Sigeric is placed as the last in the list of archbishops of Canterbury, he is also the last in the list of bishops of of Wilton; and as that list was made by a person who was best acquainted with the affairs of the southern dioceses, it is improbable that he would have omitted the name of so remarkable a man as Alfric, had he then occupied that see. Florence of Worcester mentions a bishop of Wilton named Alfstan, who, in 992, was joined with the earls Alfric and Theodred in the command of a fleet against the Danes.

From these circumstances we are justified in believing that Alfric filled the bishopric of Wilton during a very brief period previous to the death of Sigeric of Canterbury in 995. As Bishop of Wilton, Alfric appears to have joined with his neighbour Wulfsine bishop of Sherborne, in reforming the clergy of the two dioceses, and in driving out the secular priests. Either now, or before his promotion to the see of Wilton, he addressed to Wulfsine the collection of Canons drawn up at his request, in which occurs a strong declaration of the doctrine of the Anglo-Saxon church relating to the eucharist, which gave his

Anglo-Saxon homilies so much importance in the eyes of the reformers in the sixteenth century: "this sacrifice," he says, "is not made his body, in which he suffered for us, nor his blood which he shed for us, but it is made spiritually his body and his blood, like the manna which rained from heaven and the water which flowed from the rock." * While bishop, he wrote also his "sermo ad clericos" in which he condemns strongly the marriage of the clergy, although he states in it, that he does not wish to force the priests to put away their wives, but rather to convince them of their irregular and uncanonical manner of life, that they might be induced to reform themselves voluntarily.† In 998, by the aid of king Ethelred, Wulfsine ejected the priests from the church of Sherborne, and introduced monks in their place.

In 995, Alfric succeeded Sigeric as Archbishop of Canterbury; ‡ and it is remarkable that in the instrument of his election § he is called simply a monk of Abingdon. All we know of the remainder of his life is, that he ruled his diocese with vigour and piety during a period of continual sufferings from the inroads of the Danes.|| Bridferth, who dedicated to him his life of Dunstan, speaks of the wonderful extent of his learning.¶ Alfric died on the 16th of November, 1006. A charter of king Ethelred to the church of Canterbury in the year of his decease is still preserved, with Alfric's signature; and with that of Wulf-

* Non fit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit et aqua quæ de petra fluxit.

† Non autem cogimus violenter vos demittere uxores vestras, sed dicimus vobis quales esse debetis, et si non vultis, nos erimus securi et liberi a vestris peccatis, quia diximus vobis canones sanctorum patrum. Sermo Ælfrici episcopi ad clericos, MS. C.C.C.C. No. 265.

‡ Saxon Chron. sub an. 994. Hist. Abendon. ap. Wharton, p. 166.

§ Printed in Harpsfeld. Hist. Eccl. p. 198.

|| Gervas. Dorob. Act. Pontif. Cant. ap. Dec. Script. col. 1648.

¶ Ob enormitatem divulgatæ peritiæ.

stan bishop of London, and others.* He was buried at Abingdon; but in the reign of Cnute his remains were removed to Canterbury.† Alfric's will is still preserved;‡ by it he bequeathed legacies to the monasteries at Canterbury, St. Alban's, and Abingdon, to Alfheh bishop of Winchester and Wulfstan archbishop of York. This would seem to countenance the statement of his former connection with the monastery of St. Alban's.

It is probable that the greater part of Alfric's numerous writings are still extant. They consist chiefly of translations, and may be conveniently divided into three classes, those intended for the instruction of youth, theological works written after his mission to the abbey of Cerne, and those which he composed after his elevation to the bishopric of Wilton. The books of instruction were probably most of them written at Winchester, for the use of the scholars in the monastery of that city.

1. The Latin Grammar, which is a translation from the old grammars of Donatus and Priscian, and from which Alfric has derived his title of Grammaticus. It is preceded by a Latin and a Saxon preface, in which he names himself simply 'Ælfricus,' and complains, as in the preface to the greater number of his other books, of the low state of learning in England, previous to its revival under Dunstan and Ethelwold.§ Several manuscripts of Alfric's Grammar are preserved, and it was printed by Somner in the seventeenth century. The second, or Anglo-Saxon, pre-

* MS. Cotton. Claudius, A. III. fol. 2, r°. Ego Ælfricus Dorobernicus archipræsul hanc prerogativam vexillo sancto confirmavi. Ego Uulfstanus Lundoniæ pontifex ecclesiæ hujus regis benevolentiam tropheo sancto consolidavi.

† Hist. Abendon. ap. Wharton, p. 166.

‡ Printed in Hickes' Dissert. Epistolar, p 62. and in the Appendix to Mores' Dissertation.

§ Swa þ nan Anglisc preost ne cuþe dihtan oððe asmeagan ænne pistol on Læden, oþ þ Dunstan arcebiscop ⁊ Aþelwold biscop æft þa lare on munuc

face alludes to his homilies, and therefore must have been written after he left Winchester.

2. The Glossary of Latin words most commonly used in conversation (for which purpose it was intended), which is generally found in the same manuscripts with the grammar, was also published by Somner.

3. The Colloquium, or conversation in Latin with an interlinear Saxon gloss, intended to further the same object as the Glossary, and forming a second book to it. We shall speak further of this under the head of Alfric Bata, who published the enlarged edition of it which now exists. It has been printed by Mr. Thorpe.

4. We ought probably to attribute to Alfric the Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy, which occurs so frequently in early manuscripts. It is found in a large manuscript of Alfric's works in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge,* and contains many of the characteristics of Alfric's writings, particularly his expressions of contempt for the "unlearned priests." † We might be led to believe that this tract was written at the time he was occupied in the composition of his homilies, from his statement at the beginning, that it was "not intended for a homily, but otherwise to be read by those whom it pleases." ‡ This also has been recently printed.

Alfric appears to have been actively engaged in literary composition during the few years which followed his removal to Cerne in 989, when the productions of his pen were:

lifum arærde.—*So that no English priest could compose or understand an epistle in Latin, until archbishop Dunstan and bishop Ethelwold restored learning with the monastic discipline.*

* Wanley, p. 160.

† Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy, p. 13.

‡ Ðæt nis to spelle, ac elles to rædenne þam þe hit licað. In the Cambridge manuscript this is repeated at the end of a prayer or peroration of Alfric, in a manner which leaves little doubt of his being the author of the tract. Her æfter fyligð an lytel cwyde be gearlicum tidum, þæt nis spelle ge-teald, ac elles to rædenne þam þe hit licað. Wanley, p. 158.

5. A collection of homilies (the greatest of all Alfric's works), amounting in number to eighty, and written, as he acknowledges, at the suggestion of Ethelmer and Ethelward. With the first set, consisting of forty homilies, he addressed a letter to Sigeric, by whose authorization they were published. This first set was completed in 990, before the Danish invasion, which is alluded to in the second collection, published therefore towards the end of 991. These sermons are translations and compilations from the Latin homilies which had long been used in the Anglo-Saxon church: even the famous paschal sermon, in which the Anglo-Saxon Doctrine of the Eucharist is stated, is in its more important part taken from the Latin of Ratramn. Alfric says that he was led to the undertaking by a consideration of the small number of persons who could read the Gospel Doctrines, on account of the general ignorance of the Latin language in which they were set forth, there being no English books on religious subjects with the exception of those which king Alfred had translated from Latin;* and he declares that his object was the edification of unlettered people, who "in reading or hearing" could understand only their native tongue, wherefore he had avoided "obscure words," using nothing but "simple English," that it might thus reach more easily the hearts of readers or hearers, because they were not learned enough to be taught in another language than that in which they were born.† These

* ⁊ me of hreow þæt hi ne cuðon ne næfdon þa Godspellican lare on heora ge-writum, buton ðam mannum anum ðe þæt Leden cuðon, and buton þam bocum ðe Ælfred cyning snoterlice awende of Leden on Englisc, ða synd to hæbenne. Anglo-Saxon preface to the Homilies.

† Ob ædificationem simplicium qui hanc norunt tantummodo loquutionem sive legendo sive audiendo: ideoque nec obscura posuimus verba, sed simplicem Anglicam, quo facilius possit ad cor pervenire legentium vel audientium, ad utilitatem animarum suarum, quia alia lingua nesciunt erudiri, quam in qua . . . nati sunt. Latin Preface to the Homilies.

homilies are in fact written in very easy Anglo-Saxon, and form on that account the best book for the student who is beginning to study the language. Very few of them have yet been published.* The following extract from the Paschal Homily, exhibits an interesting specimen of Alfric's mode of treating the subject of transubstantiation.

Nu smeadon ge-hwilce men oft, and git ge-lome smeagaþ, hu se hlaf ðe bið of corne ge-gearcod ⁊ ðurh fyres hætan abacen, mage beon awend to Cristes lichaman, oððe ꝥ win, þe biþ of manegum berium awrungen, weorþe awend þurh anigre bletsunge to Drihtnes blode. Nu secge we ge-hwilcum mannum ꝥ sume ðing sind ge-cwedene be Criste þurh ge-tacnunge, sume þurh ge-wissum ðinge. Soð ðing is and ge-wis ꝥ Crist wæs of mædene acenned, ⁊ sylfwilles ðrowode deaþ, and wæs bebyriged, ⁊ on ðisum dæge of deaþ aras. He is ge-cweden hlaf ðurh ge-tacnunge, and lamb, ⁊ leo, ⁊ ge-hu elles. He is hlaf ge-haten, for þan þe he is ure lif ⁊ engla. He is lamb ge-cweden, for his unscæþ-þinysse; leo, for ðære strencþe þe he oferswiþde ðone strangan deofol. Ac swa þeah æfter soþum ge-cynde nis Crist naþor ne hlaf, ne lamb, ne leo. Hwi is ðonne ꝥ halige husell ge-cweden Cristes lichama, oððe his blod, gif hit nis soþlice ꝥ ꝥ hit ge-haten is? Soðlice se hlaf and ꝥ win þe beoþ þurh sacerda mæssan ge-halgode, oþer ðing hi æteowiaþ menniscum andgitum wiþutan, and

Now some men have often searched, and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through heat of fire baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine, that is pressed out of many grapes, is turned through one blessing to the Lord's blood. Now say we to such men that some things be spoken of Christ symbolically, some by thing certain. True thing it is and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death voluntarily, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is called bread symbolically, and a lamb, and a lion, and how else. He is called bread, because he is the life of us and of angels. He is said to be a lamb for his innocence; a lion, for the strength with which he overcame the strong devil. But nevertheless after true nature Christ is neither bread, nor lamb, nor lion. Why then is that holy housel called Christ's body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which by the mass of the priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to human understanding, and another thing they call

* Much information on the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church, as they appear in these homilies, is given, together with numerous extracts, in An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the year MDCCCXXX. At the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, M.A. By Henry Soames, M.A. 8vo. Oxford, 1830.

oþer þing hi clypiað wiþ-innan ge-leaffullum modum. Wiþ-utan hi beoþ ge-sewene hlaf ⁊ win ægþer ge on hiwe ge on swæcce, ac hi beoþ soþlice æfter þære halgunge Cristes lichama and his blod ðurh gastlice ge-rynu. Hæþen cild biþ ge-fullod, ac hit ne bræt na his hiw wiþ-utan, ðeah ðe hit beo wiþ-innan awend. Hit biþ ge-broht synfull ðurh Adames forgægednysse to þam fant fate. Ac hit biþ aþwogen fram eallum synnum wiþinnan, ðeah ðe hit wiþ-utan his hiw ne awende. Eac swylce ꝥ halige fant wæter, ðe is ge-haten lifes wyl-spring, is ge-lic on hiwe oðrum wæterum, ⁊ is under ðeod brosnunge, ac ðæs halgan gastes miht ge-nealæcþ þam brosnigendlicum wætere, ðurh sacerda bletsunge, ⁊ hit mæg syþþan lichaman ⁊ sawle aþwean fram eallum synnum ðurh gastlice mihte. Efne nu we ge-seoþ twa ðing on ðisum anum ge-sceafte. Æfter soþum ge-cynde, ꝥ wæter is brosniendlic wæter, ⁊ æfter gastlicre ge-rynu hæfþ halwende mihte. Swa eac gif we sceawiaþ ꝥ halige husel æfter lichamlicum andgite, þonne ge-seo we ꝥ hit is ge-sceaft brosniendlic ⁊ awendedlic: Gif we þa gastlican mihte ðær on to-cnawaþ, ðonne undergite we ꝥ ðær is lif on, ⁊ forgifþ undeadlicnysse ðam ðe hit mid ge-leafan þicgaþ. Micel is betwux ðære ungesewenlican mihte ðæs halgan husles, ⁊ þam ge-sewenlican hiwe agenes ge-cyndes. Hit is on ge-cynde brosniendlic hlaf ⁊ brosniendlic win, ⁊ is æfter mihte God-cundes wordes soþlice Cristes lichama and his blod, na swa þeah lichamlice, ac gastlice.

within to believing minds. Outwardly they are visible bread and wine both in figure and taste; but they are truly after their hallowing Christ's body and his blood through ghostly mystery. An heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-vessel sinful, through Adam's disobedience; but he is washed from all sin inwardly, though he change not his shape outwardly. Even so the holy font-water, which is called the fountain of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the might of the Holy Ghost comes to the corruptible water, through the priests' blessing, and it may after wash body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature. After true nature that water is corruptible water, and after ghostly mystery it hath hallowing might. So also if we behold that holy housel after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable: if we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief. Much is between the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of its proper nature; it is naturally corruptible bread and corruptible wine; and is by might of God's word truly Christ's body and his blood, though not so bodily, but spiritually.

6. After this collection was completed, Alfric, at the request of Ethelward, compiled from the Latin another set of Homilies, commemorative of the different saints re-

vered by the Anglo-Saxon church, divided, like the former, into two books. A copy of this work will be found in MS. Cotton. Julius, E. VII.

7. One of the next works of Alfric, or at least one of those completed before he was raised to a bishopric, was his translation of the Heptateuch. It appears from the preface that he was induced to begin this work by the request of ealderman Ethelward, that he would translate a portion of the book of Genesis for the purpose of completing an imperfect translation, which he already possessed, by another person. Alfric preferred making a version of the whole book, to which he added also a version of the other books of Moses: this work has been printed by Thwaites, together with an Anglo-Saxon version of Job, also attributed to Alfric. In the preface he declares his intention of making no more translations;* which seems to show that at that time he was not a young man, ardent in the pursuit of literary fame. During this period Alfric also wrote,

8. A treatise on the Old and New Testament, addressed to Sigward "æt East-Heolon," which was printed with a translation by Lisle.

9. A treatise on the Trinity, addressed to "Wulfgeat æt Ylmandune," preserved in Manuscript in the Bodleian Library.†

10. The abridgement of Ethelwold's constitutions, for the monks of Eynsham, preserved in manuscript at Cambridge. (MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. No. 265.)

* Ic cweþe nu þæt ic ne dearr, ne ic nelle náne boc æfter þissere of Ledene ón Englisc awendan; and ic bidde þe, leof ealdorman, þæt þu me þæs ná leng ne bidde, þi læs þe ic beo þe úngehirsum, oþðe leas gif ic do, Pref. to Genes. *I say now that I neither dare nor will translat any book after this one out of Latin into English; and I pray thee, dear ealderman, that thou require it of me no more, lest I be disobedient to thee, liar if I do.*

† See Wanley, p. 69.

11. Perhaps Alfric was the author of the translation of the life of Guthlac by Felix of Croyland, preserved in MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. XXI.

12. An Epistle to Sigferth, on the marriage of the clergy.

While Bishop of Wilton, he probably wrote,—

13. The Sermo Ælfrici episcopi ad clericos, and

14. The Sermo ad Sacerdotes, both preserved in MS. Corp. Chr. Col. Camb. No. 265, and in other manuscripts. The latter found also in MS. Cotton. Tiber. A. III., is addressed to bishop Wulfsine, and is also known as Alfric's Canons. It has been printed. These are in Latin, and in Anglo-Saxon.

Editions of Alfric.

A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the Sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord, here publikely preached, and also receaued in the Saxons' tyme, aboue 600 yeares agoe. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate beneath S. Martyns. *Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.* Alfric's Pastoral Sermon, Anglo-Saxon and English, with a learned preface, and authenticated by the names of "Matthewe Archbyshop of Canterburye, Thomas Archbyshop of Yorke, Edmunde byshop of London, Iames byshop of Durham, Robert byshop of Winchester, William bishop of Chichester, Iohn byshop of Hereford, Richard byshop of Elye, Edwine byshop of Worceter, Nicholas byshop of Lincolne, Richard byshop of S. Dauys, Thomas bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, Iohn bishop of Norwiche, Iohn bishop of Carlyll, Nicholas bishop of Bangor." Said to have been published by archbishop Parker himself, in 1566.

Those fragments of Alfric which bore against the doctrine of transubstantiation, with English translations, were inserted in the second volume of Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," folio, London, 1610, pp. 1040, et seqq. and were reprinted in subsequent editions.

A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament, written abovt the time of King Edgar (700 yeares agoe) by Ælfricus Abbas, thought to be the same that was afterwards Archbisbop of Canterbvrie, whereby appeares what was the Canon of Holy Scripture here then received, and that the Church of England had it so long agoe in her Mother Tongue.

Now first published in print with English of our times, by William L'Isle of Wilbvrgham, Esquier for the King's Bodie: the Originall remaining still to be seene in Sr Robert Cotton's Librarie, at the end of his lesser Copie of the Saxon Pentatevch, and herevnto is added ovt of the Homilies and Epistles of the fore-said Ælfricvs, a second edition of A Testimonie of Antiquitie, etc., touching the Sacrament of the Bodie and Bloud of the Lord, here publikely preached and received in the Saxons time, etc. 4to. London, 1623.

Three Rare Monuments of Antiquitie, or Bertram, Priest, A French man, of the Bodie and Blood of Christ (written 800 yeares agoe) with the late Romish purging thereof: Ælfricus, Arch-bishop of Canterburie, an English-man, his Sermon of the Sacrament (preached 627 years agoe:), &c. Translated and compacted by M. William Guild, Minister at King-Edward. Printed at Aberdene, by Edward Raban, for David Melvill. 12mo. 1624. Pp. 117—141. The Paschal Sermon, same translation as before, without text.

Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue: written seven hundred yeares agoe. Shewing that both in the Old and New Testament, the Lords Prayer and the Creede were then used in the Mother Tongue: and also, what opinion was then held of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Published by William L'Isle of Wilburgham, Esquire to the King's body. 4to. Lond. 1638. Alfric's treatises on the Old and New Testaments, Saxon and English.—A Testimony of Antiquity: shewing the Ancient Faith in the Church of England, &c. 4to. Lond. 1638. A reprint.

Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones, in Re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici. Opera et Scrutinio Henrici Spelman. Fol. Lond. 1639. vol. i. pp. 572—582. Alfric's Canons, Anglo-Saxon and English.

Wheloc printed some extracts from Alfric's Homilies, in his edition of Bede, fol. Cantabr. 1643.

Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum . . . Opera et Studio Guliel. Somneri Cantuariensis. Accesserunt Ælfrici Abbatis Grammatica Latino-Saxonica, cum Glossario suo ejusdem generis. Fol. Oxon. 1659. Alfric's treatises occupy the latter part of the volume, and are separately paged.

The Paschal Sermon was printed in English only, with Joscelin's Preface which accompanied the first edition, 4to. Oxon. 1675, and reprinted at the same place in 1688, according to Tanner. Strype (quoted in Soames, Bampton Lectures, p. 422,) says the editor was Leon Litchfield.

Auctuarium Historiæ Dogmaticæ Jacobi Usserii Armachani de Scripturis et Sacris vernaculis. Authore Henrico Wharton. 4to. London, 1689. pp. 380—386. Alfric's Preface to Genesis, with a Latin translation by George Hickes.

Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi; Anglo-Saxonice. Historiæ Judith Fragmentum; Dano-Saxonice. Edidit nunc primum ex MSS. codicibus Edwardus Thwaites. Oxon. 8vo. 1699.

Several portions of Alfric's writings were printed by Hickes in his Dissertatio Epistolaris, in the third volume of the Thesaurus, fol. Oxon. 1705.

An English-Saxon Homily on the birth-day of St. Gregory, used anciently in the English-Saxon Church. Giving an account of the Conversion of the English from Paganism to Christianity. Translated into Modern English, with notes, &c. by Eliz. Elstob. 8vo. London, 1709.

About this time Mrs. Elstob projected an edition of Alfric's Homilies, under the title, Elfrici Homiliæ, ed. El. Elstob. (fol. Oxon.). Only thirty-six pages of this projected work were ever printed. A copy of them is in the British Museum, In 1715, she made another attempt, under the title,—

The English-Saxon Homilies of Ælfric Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who flourished in the latter end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. Being a course of Sermons collected out of the writings of the ancient Latin Fathers, containing the Doctrines, &c. of the Church of England before the Norman Conquest, and shewing its purity from many of those popish innovations and corruptions, which were afterwards introduced into the church. Now first printed, and translated into the language of the present times, by Elizabeth Elstob. Fol. Oxon. 1715. A copy of the only two leaves of this work ever printed, are preserved in the British Museum, MS. Lansdowne, No. 373.

Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae . . . A Davide Wilkins. vol. i. fol. Lond. 1737. pp. 250—255. Alfric's Canons, Anglo-Saxon and Latin. It may be observed that these Canons were given in Latin in the Concilia of Labbé and Cossart.

Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a regular dissection of the Saxon Chronicle. 8vo. London, 1830, pp. 226—239. The Anglo-Saxon words of the greater part of Alfric's Colloquium, arranged in what the editor considered their grammatical order.

Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection, in Prose and Verse, from Anglo-Saxon Authors of various ages; with a Glossary. Designed chiefly as a first book for Students. By Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1834. Pp. 25—28. Alfric's Preface to Genesis.—P. 59—84. Homilies.—Pp. 101—118. Ælfrici Colloquium.

Altsächsische und Angelsächsische Sprachproben. Herausgegeben und mit einem erklärenden Verzeichniss der angelsächsischen Wörter versehen von Heinrich Leo. 8vo. Halle, 1838. Pp. 6—15. Alfric's Colloquium, with the omission of the Latin text.—Pp. 15—18. Alfric's Preface to Genesis. Both reprinted from Thorpe's Analecta.

Fragment of Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfric's Glossary, and a Poem on the Soul and Body, in the Orthography of the 12th century: discovered among the Archives of Worcester Cathedral, by Sir T. Phillipps, Bart. Edited by Sir T. P. Fol. London, 1838.

The Book of Bertram the Priest on the Body and Blood of the Lord. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Saxon Homily of Alfric. 12mo. Oxford, 1838, pp. 57—69. Lisle's English translation of the Paschal sermon without the original.

An Anglo-Saxon Homily on St. Gregory's Day, with an English Translation by Elizabeth Elstob. A New Edition: with a Preface, containing some account of Mrs. Elstob. 8vo. London, 1839.

Principia Saxonica: or an Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Reading, comprising Ælfric's Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory, &c. By L. Langley, F.L.S. 12mo. London, 1839.

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England; edited by Benjamin Thorpe. Fol. Lond. 1840. Pp. 441—451. The Canons of Alfric.—Pp. 452—463. Alfric's Pastoral Epistle, addressed to Wulfstan.—P.p. 414, 465. Alfric's Epistle entitled, Quando dividis Chrisma.

Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages, in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and English. Edited by Thomas Wright. 8vo. London, 1841, pp. 1—19. The Anglo-Saxon Manual of Astronomy, with an English translation.

ADALARD.

Adalard is only known as one of the early biographers of Dunstan, who probably brought him over from Ghent, as he states that he was a monk of the same monastery in which Dunstan had found an asylum during his exile.* He dedicated his life of Dunstan to archbishop Alfheh, at whose desire it was written, and who was raised to the see of Canterbury in 1006. Adalard's life of Dunstan is called in some manuscripts an 'Eulogium'; it is in fact rather a commemorative sermon, than a history,† and is written in a declamatory style. The following account of Dunstan's last moments will be sufficient as a specimen:

* In the introductory epistle, he calls himself Adalardus Sancti Blandiniensis cœnobii exiguus famulus. MS. Cotton. Nero C. VII. fol. 72, v°. Tanner appears to have misinterpreted the name of the monastery, and confounded this writer with Athelard of Bath.

† Adalard says of his own work, Scias autem in opere isto historiam vitæ ejus non contineri, sed ex eadem vita quasi brevem sermonis versiculum, &c. ib.

At jam nunc quomodo invenerit eum dominus vigilantem audiamus. Die ergo ascensionis dominicæ prædicta cœpit columna Dei lente viribus destitui. Languore autem prævalente lectulo suscipitur, in quo tota sexta feria cum nocte sequenti cœlestibus intendens advenientes et recedentes in Domino confortabat. Mane autem sabbati hymnis jam matutinalibus peractis sanctam adesse jubet fratrum congregationem. Quibus iterum spiritu commendans viaticum sacramentorum Christi coram se celebratum ex mensa cœlesti suscepit. Unde gratias agens Deo psallere cœpit, Mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator dominus escam dedit timentibus se. Inter quæ verba spiritum in manibus Creatoris reddens in pace quievit. O nimis felicem quem Dominus invenit ita vigilantem! Sepultus sane est in sepulchro a seipso condito, ubi quosque transeuntium pontificaliter monet sortis propriæ.

Section VI.—From A.D. 1000, to the Norman Conquest.

ALFRIC BATA.

The history of Alfric Bata is no less involved in confusion than that of Alfric of Canterbury, arising chiefly from the same cause, the number of contemporary bishops, abbots, and monks, who bore the name of Alfric. He informs us himself that he was the disciple of the elder Alfric * (not of Ethelwold) at Winchester. He is known principally as having republished and enlarged some of the books of scholastic instruction compiled by his master, more particularly the *Colloquium*. In the rubrics to the manuscript containing this curious tract, he is repeatedly called 'a monk,' † and appears at the time he published it to have enjoyed no ecclesiastical dignity. It is probable that he also republished Alfric's Grammar and Glossary, for they are joined with the Colloquium in the manuscript of the latter preserved at Oxford; and in the copy of the grammar printed by Somner there is a short

* Colloquium . . . ab Ælfrico primum compilatum, et deinde ab Ælfrico Bata ejus discipulo auctum. Title in the Cottonian MS.—Hanc sententiam Latini sermonis olim Ælfricus abbas composuit, qui meus fuit magister, sed tamen ego Ælfric Bata multas postea huic addidi appendices. Title in the Oxford MS.

† To a Latin dialogue preceding the Colloquium in the Oxford MS. are prefixed the following lines,—

> Denique composuit pueris hoc stylum rite diversum,
> Qui, Bata Ælfricus, monachus brevissimus.
> Qualiter scholastici valeant resumere fandi
> Aliquod initium Latinitatis sibi.

and it ends with the distich,

> Explicit hic sermo Latinus calce quiescens,
> A Bata Ælfrico dispositum monacho.

epistle connecting Alfric's name with that of king Cnute, which cannot refer to Alfric of Canterbury.

It appears that in the time of Lanfranc, when the newest Romish doctrines relating to transubstantiation, &c. were imposed upon the English Church by the Norman prelates, the name of Alfric Bata was regarded as that of an heretical opponent of the Christian church; for Osbern, in his life of Dunstan, says that that saint appeared in a vision to a cripple who had sought relief at his tomb, and told him that he had been absent opposing Alfric Bata, who "was endeavouring to dispossess God's church."* It seems likely, therefore, that he had been active in explaining the same doctrines on the subject of the eucharist, which appear in the writings of his preceptor; and we may perhaps venture to agree with Rowes in attributing to Alfric Bata the two pastoral letters composed for Wulfstan archbishop of York, and therefore after the year 1003. In the title to these letters Alfric is called an abbot; but this name may have been given to him by a scribe, who thought that he must be the same Alfric who spoke of himself as 'abbot' in the prefaces to his other works. These two letters were first written in Latin, but about a year afterwards, as their author informs us, they were translated into Anglo-Saxon at Wulfstan's desire, in order that they might be more generally useful. The following extract from the second epistle, in which he treats of the Eucharist, will show how closely Alfric Bata (if he be the writer) followed the words of his master:

Crist sylf ge-halgode husel ær his þrowunge; he bletsode þone hlaf and to-bræc, þus cweþende to his halgum apostolum, "etaþ þisne hlaf,

Christ himself consecrated the housel before his passion; he blessed and brake in pieces the bread, saying thus to his holy apostles, "Eat this

* Osbern. Vit. Odon. ap. Mab. Sæc. V. p. 692.

hit is min lichama;" ⁊ he eft bletsode ænne calic mid wine, and owæþ heom þus to "Drincaþ ealle of þisum, hit is min agen blod þære niwan ge-cyþnysse, þe biþ for manegum agoten, on synna for-gyfenysse." Se Drihten þe halgode husel ær his þrowunge, ⁊ cwæþ ꝥ se hlaf wære his agen lichama, ⁊ ꝥ win wære witodlice his blod, se halgaþ dæghwamlice þurh his sacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman ⁊ win to his blod on gastlicere ge-ryne, swa swa we rædað on bocum. Ne bið se liflica hlaf lichamlice swa þeah se ylca lichama þe Crist on þrowode, ne ꝥ halige win nis þæs Hælendes blod þe for us agoten wæs on lichamlican þinge; ac on gastlicum andgyte ægþer biþ soþlice, se hlaf his lichama, ⁊ ꝥ win eac his blod, swa swa se heafonlica hlaf wæs þe we hataþ manna.

bread, it is my body;" and he again blessed a cup with wine, saying to them thus, "Drink all of this, it is my own blood of the New Testament, which is poured out for many in forgiveness of sins." The Lord who consecrated the housel before his passion, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, he consecrates daily through the hands of his priests bread to his body, and wine to his blood in a spiritual mystery, as we read in books. The lively bread nevertheless is not bodily the same body in which Christ suffered, nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood which was poured out for us in bodily thing; but in spiritual meaning each is truly, the bread his body, and the wine also his blood, as was the heavenly bread which we call manna.

We may perhaps also consider Alfric Bata as the author of the life of Ethelwold written, as stated in the preface, twenty years after that prelate's death, that is probably in the year 1005, immediately after Cynewulf, or Kenulf, to whom it is dedicated, had been made bishop of Winchester. In this case it is extremely probable that Wolstan's life of Ethelwold, which agrees almost verbally with the greater part of Alfric's, was the older of the two biographies, and that Alfric was the plagiarist. Wolstan states that he had at least a part of his information from personal knowledge; Alfric acknowledges that he obtained his materials from Cynewulf himself and from others. The latter expression may mean that he copied Wolstan.* The

* Ælfricus abbas, Wintoniensis alumnus, honorabili episcopo Kenulfo et fratribus Wintoniensibus salutem in Christo . . . . quæ apud vos vel alias a fidelibus didici huic stilo insero, ne forte penitus propter inopiam scrip-

Alfric who wrote this life was certainly at that time an abbot.

Alfric Bata has generally been supposed to be the same person as Alfric Putta, the archbishop of York who succeeded Wulfstan in 1023, and who is stated to have been provost (præpositus) of the minster of Winchester. This is little more than a conjecture; the identity being supported only by the letter above alluded to as printed with Alfric's Glossary, in which a monk addresses him as a prelate who was in great favour with Cnute. Alfric archbishop of York, as we know, was raised by that monarch's favour, and he is accused by the monkish historians of the following century of having been the instigator of some of the most cruel acts of his son Hardicnute.* It must, however, be acknowledged that no old writer speaks of any literary productions of the archbishop of York, and he appears to have been a patron of the secular clergy.† He died in 1051, and was buried at Peterborough.

To the works above mentioned as being attributed to Alfric Bata, we may add one of the Homilies (entitled in some manuscripts "*In Natale Unius Confessoris*), a marginal note to which in one of the manuscripts states that it was composed at the desire of the younger Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, who is said to have succeeded Cynewulf in 1008."

The following extract will show the character of the Colloquium, composed first by Alfric the grammarian, and republished by Alfric Bata. It is part of the account which the scholar gives of his own mode of life.

torum oblivioni tradantur. Prefatory epistle, printed by Mabillon, Act. SS. Ord. S. Bened. Sæc. V. p. 606.

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. p. 76, et de Gest. Pontif. p. 270.

† See Godwin, de Episc. Eborac. p. 19, 20.

þu cnapa hwæt dydest to dæg
Magister. Tu, puer, quid fecisti hodie?

Manega þing ic dyde on þisse niht þa þa cnyll
Discipulus. Multas res feci. Hac nocte, quando signum
ic ge-hyrde ic arás of mínon bedde and eode to cyrcean and sang
audivi, surrexi de lectulo, et exivi ad ecclesiam, et cantavi
uht-sang mid ge-broþrum æfter þa we sungon be aellum
nocturnam cum fratribus; deinde cantavimus de omnibus
halgum and dægredlice lóf-sangas æfter þysum prím and seo-
sanctis, et matutinales laudes; post hæc, primam, et sep-
fon seolmas mid letanian and capitol mæssan syþþan
tem psalmos, cum letaniis, et primam missam; deinde
undern-tide and dydon mæssan be dæge æfter þisum we sungon
tertiam, et fecimus missam de die; post hæc cantavimus
middæg and æton and druncon and slepon and
sextam, et manducavimus, et bibimus, et dormivimus, et
eft we arisón and sungon nón and nu we synd
iterum surreximus, et cantavimus nonam, et modo sumus
her æt-foran þe gearuwe ge-hyran hwet þu us secge
hic coram te, parati audire quid nobis dixeris.

Hwænne wylle ge singan æfen oþþe niht-sange
M. Quando vultis cantare vesperum, aut completorium?

þonne hyt tíma byþ
D. Quando tempus erit.

Wære þu to dæg beswuncgen
M. Fuisti hodie verberatus?

Ic næs for-þam wærlice ic me heold
D. Non fui, quia caute me tenui.

And hw þíne ge-feran
M. Et quomodo tui socii?

Hwæt me ahsast be þam Ic ne deor yppan
D. Quid me interrogas de hoc? Non audeo pandere
þe digla úre Anra ge-hwylc wát gif he beswuncgen wæs
tibi secreta nostra. Unusquisque scit si flagellatus erat
oþþe na
aut non.

For the editions of the Colloquium, we refer to the list of editions of Alfric of Canterbury. Extracts from the

pastoral letter written for Wulfstan will be found in the collections relating to the Anglo-Saxon doctrine of the Eucharist.

CYNEWULF, OR KENULF.

Cynewulf, or as he is called by most of the Latin authorities Kenulfus, is said to have been one of the most remarkable literary men of the commencement of the eleventh century. Our chief information relating to him is found in the extravagant eulogy given by Hugo Candidus the historian of Peterborough. From him we learn that Cynewulf was made abbot of Peterborough about the year 992;* having previously, as appears from other authorities,† been a monk of Winchester. As abbot, he was eminent for his care of the affairs of his monastery, for his gentleness and personal humility towards his inferiors and dependents, for his constant application to study, and for his assiduity in teaching others. Hugo says that his school was frequented by ecclesiastics of all classes, who came from a distance to his monastery, as to the court of another Solomon.‡ He adds that after having been abbot fourteen years, he was chosen against his will to succeed Alfheh in the bishopric of Winchester. This occurred in 1006.§ William of Malmsbury, on the contrary, says that he bought the see of Winchester for a sum of money, but that he enjoyed the fruits of this unworthy transaction scarcely two years, dying therefore in 1008.‖

Leland, led by Hugo's account of Cynewulf, inserted

* Hugo Candid. Hist. Petrob. ap. Sparke, p. 31.

† Wharton, Angl. Sacr. tom. i. p. 226.

‡ He says that he was, Decus et norma rerum divinarum et secularium.

§ Hist. Petrob. ap. Wharton, A. S. tom. i. p. 250.

‖ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 245.

him under the name of Chenulphus, in his catalogue of English writers; but no one had been able to specify any literary production of which he was the author, until Mr. Kemble recently discovered the name concealed in a playful device among the Anglo-Saxon poems of the Exeter and Vercelli manuscripts.* There can be no doubt that a person named Cynewulf was the author of some of the religious poems in those collections, but we think it by no means clearly established that he was the abbot of Peterborough. The poet appears to have been in the habit of fixing his claim to the authorship of his works, by attaching his name in Runic characters to some portion of them, as the prologue or epilogue. The letters of the runic alphabet had a meaning taken as words, independent of their literal signification; and to take the consecutive letters of a person's name, and introduce them in order as words, was a process analogous to the composition of acrostics in Latin, from which the idea was probably adopted. In the epilogue to the poem on the Discovery of the Cross, in the Vercelli MS., occur the following lines:—

A wæs sæc oð ðæt	Ever till then was the man
cnyssed cear-welmum,	tossed with the waves of care,
ᚳ. drusende,	the bold one, sinking,
þeah he in medo-healle	though in the mead-hall he
maðmas þege,	received treasures,
æplede gold;	dappled gold;
ᚣ. gnornode,	he lamented his misery,
ᚾ. ge-fera	the enforced comrade
nearu sorge dreah,	suffered close sorrow,
enge rune,	a narrow mystery,
þær him ᛖ. fore	when the steed before him
mil-paðas mæt,	measured the mile paths,
modig þrægde,	boldly hastened,
wirum ge-wlenced.	adorned with wires.

* See a very learned paper on Runes in the Archæologia, vol. xxviii.

ᚳ . is ge-swiðrad	Hope is violated
gomen æfter gearum,	pleasure after years,
geogoð is ge-cyrred,	youth is departed,
ald onmedla :	his ancient pride :
ᚢ . wæs geara	of old it was
geogoð hades glæm,	the exultation of youth,
nu synt gear-dagas	now are the days of life
æfter fyrst-mearce	after the appointed time
forð-ge-witene,	departed,
líf-wynne ge-liden,	life-joys slid away,
swa. ᛚ . to-glideð,	as water glideth,
flodas ge-fysde.	floods hastened.
ᚠ . æghwam bið	Money is to every one
læne under lyfte.	mean under the heaven,
landes frætwe	the ornaments of the land
ge-witaþ under wolcnum, etc.	depart under the welkin, etc.

The runes in the above extract are C·Y·N·E·W·U·L·F. In a similar passage in the Exeter MS. (fol. 19, v°.) we have the following lines :—

þær monig beoð	There shall many be
on ge-mot lædað,	led into the meeting,
fore onsyne	before the face
eces deman.	of the Eternal Judge.
þonne ᚢ cwacað ; gehyreð	Then shall the bold quake ; shall hear
cyning mæðlan,	the king discourse,
rodera ryhtend sprecan	the Ruler of the Heavens speak
reþe word þam þe him	stern words to them who him
ær in worulde	before that in the world
wace hyrdon,	weakly (ill) obeyed,
þendan ᚣ ⁊ ᚾ	while misery and need
yþast meahtan	might most easily
frofre findan.	find consolation.
þær sceal forht monig	There shall many a one in terror
on þam wong-stede	on that plain
werig bidan,	weary await,
hwæt him æfter dædum	what to him after his deeds
deman wille	[God] shall adjudge
wraþra wita.	of angry penalties.
biþ se ᚳ sceæcen,	Hope hath departed,

eorþan frætwa ;	the treasures of earth ;
ᚢ wæs longe	long was it of old
ᛚ flodum bilocen,	surrounded with the sea-streams,
lif-wynna dæl,	a portion of the joy of life,
ᚠ on foldan ;	money on the earth ;
þonne frætwe sculon	then shall treasures
byrnan on bæle, &c.	burn in fire, etc.

The runes here are C·Y·N·W·U·L·F· From the absence of the E., Mr. Kemble supposes that some lines are lost. Cynewulf gives his name in a less artificial manner in a passage of another poem of the Exeter MS. (fol. 76, r°.) where he merely introduces the letters of his name, without any reference to their verbal signification :—

þonne me ge-dælað	Then for me shall part
deorast ealra,	the dearest of all,
sibbe to-slitað	their relationship shall sever
sinhiwan tu,	the two consorts,
micle mod-lufan ;	their great love ;
min sceal of lice	then shall from the body
sawul on siðfæt,	my soul upon its journey,
nat ic sylfa hwider,	I know not myself whither,
eardes uncyðþu,	what unknown land,
of sceal ic þissum	I must from this
secan oðerne,	another dwelling seek,
ær-ge-wyrhtum,	according to my old doings,
gongan iu-dædum.	go according to my ancient deeds.
Geomor hweorfeð	Sadly will wander
ᚳ . ᚣ . ⁊ ᚾ .	C, Y, and N,
cyning biþ reþe,	stern will be the king,
sigora syllend,	the giver of glory,
þonne synnum fâh	then stained with sins
. ᛖ . ᚹ . ⁊ ᚢ .	E, W. and U
acle bidað,	in terror will abide,
hwæt him æfter dædum	what to them after their deeds
deman wille	he will doom
lifes to leane.	as retribution for their life.
ᛚ . ᚠ . beofað,	L, F will tremble,
seomað sorg-cearig,	sorrowful they will lour,

synna wunde;	with the wound of sins;
sar eal ge-mon	the pain I shall all remember
þe ic siþ oþþe ær	which I before or since
ge-worhte in worulde,	wrought in the world,
ꝥ ic wopig sceal	that shall I with weeping,
tearum mænan.	moan with tears.

WULFSTAN.

The names of few of the Anglo-Saxon prelates of the eleventh century are mentioned with respect by writers subsequent to the Conquest, through whom chiefly they are known to us. It is probable that the plainness with which they had stated in their preaching and writing the older doctrine of the Eucharist, and the attachment still shown to their memory by the Anglo-Saxon portion of the clergy, rendered them obnoxious to the Anglo-Norman theologians. All that we know of the life of Wulfstan is that he was made archbishop of York in 1003, that like his two predecessors he held the bishopric of Worcester at the same time, and that he died in 1023. William of Malmsbury says that he differed from his predecessors both in life and 'habit;' * from which it appears that he was not a monk. He seems, however, to have been active in the discharge of his duties during a period of unusual distraction. He was the friend of both the Alfrics, the younger of whom composed for him the two pastoral letters already mentioned.† Wulfstan himself wrote in

* Ipsi [i.e. Adulfo] pro sanctitate ignoscitur quod contra regulas canonum duas sedes tenuerit, quod scilicet non hoc ambitione sed necessitate fecerit. Wlstano non ita, qui sanctitate discrepabat et habitu. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 270.

† See above, p. 497.

Anglo-Saxon an exhortatory letter or discourse addressed to all the people of his province, which is still preserved.*

Wanley,† apparently with good reason, attributes to Wulfstan the Anglo-Saxon homilies to which is generally affixed the name of *Lupus Episcopus*. He argues that at the time they were composed, there was no English bishop whose name could be represented by the Latin *Lupus*, except Wulfstan; that there are reasons from the character of the manuscripts, in which the homilies of Lupus are found, to suppose that he was bishop of Worcester; that the manuscript, which contains the 'parænesis' or exhortation of Wulfstan contains also the homilies of Lupus; and that similar sentiments and forms of expression occur in them. There is a striking resemblance in their contents between the manuscript at Cambridge (C.C.C. No. 201) and the Cottonian manuscript, Nero A. I. which also contains some homilies of Lupus.

The most remarkable of these homilies is the one entitled in the manuscript, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos*.‡ It was written four years before the death of Ethelred, in 1012, the same year in which bishop Alfheh underwent martyrdom, and after two years of unequalled sufferings from the ravages of the invaders. It affords a strong picture of that period of intrigues and treasons. Wulfstan sets before the eyes of his countrymen the crimes, which had disgraced the age preceding that in which he wrote, and the increasing wickedness of their own time; he adduces them as a proof that the world was declining and approaching to its

* MS. C. C. Coll. Cambr. No. 201, art. 7. It commences with the words, Wulfstan arcebisceop greteð freondlice þegnas.

† Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. pp. 140, 141.

‡ Wanley, pp. 141—143, has given a list of the homilies which appear to have been written by Wulfstan.

end, and that the coming of Antichrist was now at hand; he says that Christians then did not scruple to rob the church of its possessions, a sin which was not even known to the pagans, who never plundered their idols; and that treason lifted up its head unabashed. The invasions of the Danes are represented as the first out-pourings of God's wrath for the wickedness of the people. In the following extracts he describes the crimes of the age, and the visitations which he believed they had drawn down from heaven.

For-ðam hit is on us eallum swutol ⁊ ge-sene, ꝥ we ær ðysan oftor bræcon þonne we betton, and ðy is ðysse ðeode fela onsæge: Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute; ac wæs here ⁊ hunger, bryne, ⁊ blodgyte on ge-wel hwylcum ende oft ⁊ ge-lome; and us stalu ⁊ cwalu, stric ⁊ steorfa, orf-cwealm ⁊ uncoðu, hol ⁊ hete ⁊ rypera reaflac derede swyðe ðearle, and us ungylda swyðe ge-drehton, ⁊ us unwedera foroft weoldan unwæstma. For-ðam on ðysum earde wæs, swa hit ðincan mæg, nu fæla geara unrihta fela, ⁊ tealte ge-trywð æghwær mid mannum.

Therefore it is in us all manifest and evident, that we before this oftener trespassed than made amends, and thereby this people has much suffering. There was now no good neither within nor without; but there was invasion and hunger, burning and bloodshed on every side often and continually; and ravage and slaughter, plague and pestilence, murrain of cattle and sicknesses, slander and hatred and plundering of thieves, injured us very severely, and unjust contributions oppressed us exceedingly. Therefore in this land were, as it may appear, now many years many wrongs, and fidelity wavered everywhere with men.

Ne bearh nu foroft ge-sibb ge-sibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his bearne, ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðor oðrum. Ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode swa swa he sceolde, ne ge-hadode re-gollice, ne læwede lahlice, ac worhtan lust us to lage ealles to ge-lome, and naþor ne heoldan ne lare ne lage Godes ne manna swa swa we sceoldan, ne ænig wið oðerne ge-trywlice ðohte swa rihte swa he scolde, ac mæst ælc swicode and oðrum derede wordes and dæde. ⁊ huru unrihtlice mæst ælc oðerne æftan heaweþ

Now very often the kinsman protected his kindred no more than strangers, nor the father his child, nor sometimes the child his own father, nor one brother the other. Nor did any one of us order his life as he ought, neither the monk according to his rule, nor the layman according to law, but our own lust too often became to us all our law, and we neither followed the teaching or law of God or men as we should, nor did any one think faithfully towards another as rightly as he should, but every one beguiled and

mid sceandlican ⁊ mid wrohtlican onscytan, ⁊ do mare gif he mæge.

injured the other the most he could in word and deed. And especially every one stabs the other behind his back the most he can with shameful and injurious attacks, and does more if he can.

For-ðam her synd on lande ungetrywða micle for Gode ⁊ for worolde, ⁊ eac her synd on earde on mistlice wisan hlaford-swican manege, ⁊ ealra mæst hlaford-swice se bið on worulde ꝥ man his hlafordes saule beswice, ⁊ ful micel hlaford-swice eac biþ on werolde ꝥ man his hlaford of life for-ræde, oððon of lande lifiendne drife. And ægðer is ge-worden on ðysum earde. Eadweard man for-rædde, ⁊ syððan acwealde, ⁊ æfter þam for-bærnde.

Therefore here are in the land great treasons towards God and towards the world, and also here are in the land in manifold shapes many treasons towards people's liege lords, and the greatest treason of all that is in the world that one beguiles his lord's soul, and also there is full great treason in the world that one seduces a lord to the loss of his life, or drives him out of his land alive. And both have happened in this country. They seduced Edward, and afterwards slew him, and after that burnt him.

Editions of Wulfstan.

Hickes' Thesaurus, vol. iii. (Dissertat. Epistolaris) fol. 1705. pp. 99—106. Sermo Lupi ad Anglos. Edited by William Elstob.

Sermo Lupi Episcopi, Saxonice. Latinam Interpretationem notasque adjecit Gulielmus Elstob. Fol. Oxon. 1701. A separate edition of the tract as printed in Hickes' Thesaurus.

Minor Anglo-Saxon Writers.—Oswald, Ethelnoth, the two Haymos.

A monk of Worcester named Oswald, kinsman of Oswald archbishop of York, is said to have studied with success in the monastic schools of Flanders and France in the earlier part of the eleventh century.* He resided successively in the monasteries of St. Bertin, St. Vedast, Corvei, St. Denis, Latigny(?), and finally at Fleury. At the latter place he contracted an intimate friendship with an eminent grammarian named Constantine, who, as we are informed by Leland, addressed to archbishop Oswald a poem in Latin elegiacs, in which he praised the learning and talents of his kinsman. This, if true, must have occurred before the year 992. Leland attributes to him a book of prayers (sacrarum precationum) and a tract on the composition of Epistles (de componendis epistolis), and says that he found manuscripts of his writings in the monastic libraries of Glastonbury and Ramsey. A treatise on versification (de edendis carminibus) was also attributed to him. Bale says that the 'book of prayers' was a collection of Charms, and that Oswald's friend Constantine was a magician. Oswald is said to have flourished about the year 1010.

Trithemius places the name of Ethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury from 1020 to 1038, among his list of authors, and attributes to him a book in praise of the Virgin Mary and a volume of Epistles. Leland, who admits his name among the English writers with some hesitation, confesses that among all his laborious researches he had not been able to find traces of any books attributed to him. It is

* He is known almost solely by the unsatisfactory notices in Leland, de Scrip. Brit. and in Bale.

probable therefore that Trithemius had confounded the name of Ethelnoth of Canterbury with that of some other person, as the titles he gives are not those of books likely to have been written by the Anglo-Saxon prelate.

The old bibliographers mention two Anglo-Saxon writers of the eleventh century bearing the name of Haymo.* The first of these is said to have been a monk of York, and to have flourished about 1010 or 1020. To him is attributed an account of the murder of Abbo of Fleury, and a Chronicle which, according to Vossius, extended from Justinian to Charlemagne, or, as Boston of Bury states, from Ninus to the year 843. We are justified in supposing, from the date at which this chronicle ended, that it was written by a different person from Haymo of Canterbury. The second Haymo is said to have been driven from his country by the ravages of the Danes, and to have sought a refuge in France, where he became a monk of St. Denis, and afterwards opened a school of theology at Paris. He subsequently returned to England, and was made archdeacon of Canterbury, where he died on the 2nd of October, 1054. Tanner, on the authority of Boston, gives the following titles of works by Haymo of Canterbury: Commentaries on the Pentateuch in five books, on Isaiah in two, on the Machabees in two, on the Epistles of St. Paul in fourteen, on the Apocalypse of St. John in eight; Homilies on the Gospels and on the Epistles; De Revelatione Corporis S. Dionysii; De Rebus Monachorum; De Fructu Incarnationis Christi; De Sanctorum Imitatione; De Memoria Rerum Christianarum; De Pugna Virtutum et Vitiorum; De quibusdam Martyribus. There can be little doubt that at least several of these books belonged to Haymo of Fulda.

* See Tanner, who appears to have obtained most of his information relating to the Haymos from the ancient MS. Bibliographical Work of Boston of Bury.

WITHMAN.*

During the Danish wars, in the earlier half of the eleventh century, the English princes and ecclesiastics frequently sought refuge in Normandy and Flanders, which led to an increase of intimacy between these countries and our island, and the want of native scholars began again to be supplied by the arrival of strangers. Among these was Withman, a native of Germany (Teutonicus), who was made in 1016 third abbot of Ramsey. Withman was distinguished by his learning, and by severity of manners: and his attempt to enforce rigorous discipline among his monks and scholars soon led to violent and unseemly altercations. The abbot, in 1020, carried his complaint before the bishop of the diocese, Ethelric, who, after a temperate investigation of the cause, gave judgment in favour of the monks, on which Withman quitted the monastery in disgust, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After having been absent about a year, Withman returned to England, and the abbot of Ramsey, who had been elected after his departure, prepared to vacate his office; but Withman, refusing to return to his former post, retired in great humility to a small cell at Northeye, in a solitary spot in the neighbourhood,† where he is said to have lived about twenty-six years, being supplied with the necessaries of life from his abbey. According to this reckoning, Withman died about A. D. 1047.‡

* By Leland the name is transformed to *Leucander*, under which he is placed by Tanner.

† Est autem locus ille ab ecclesia Ramesiæ unius vix balistæ jactu secretus, in medio alneto, lutosa palude circumseptus, tam longitudine quam latitudine admodum egenus, sine navis vehiculo inaccessibilis, vitam secularem nauseantibus satis conveniens et acceptus. Hist. Rames. ap. Gale, p. 436.

‡ Hist. Rams. ap. Gale, pp. 434-436. See also the Monasticon, ii. 547.

In the time of Eadnoth, the first abbot of Ramsey, the reputed relics of St. Ivo, a Persian saint, who was said to have preached and died here at the end of the sixth century, and whose name is preserved in the present town of St. Ives, were removed from 'Slepe' near Huntingdon to Ramsey. Withman, who had now taken the name of Andrew, had remarked in his journey through Greece the respect which was there shown to the saint, who was according to popular belief buried in his own monastery, and had collected materials for his life, which he composed after his return. This book was afterwards revised and abridged by Gotselin,* and the original, superseded entirely by Gotselin's version, is now lost. Bale attributes also to this writer a narrative of his journey to Jerusalem (De suo Itinere sacro, lib. i.), and says that he flourished in 1020.

FOLCHARD.

FOLCHARD, or Folcard, was another French scholar who settled in England about the time of the Norman Conquest. He was originally a monk of St. Bertin, in Flanders. On his arrival in England, he entered himself first as a monk of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, but after the invasion of the Normans he was promoted in 1068 by William the Conqueror to the abbacy of Thorney. After holding this office sixteen years, he resigned it in consequence of a dispute with the bishop of Lincoln, and returned (as it is supposed) to St. Bertin. We know neither

* Gotselin refers to the original in his preface, and states the rigidity of life of its author as a reason for trusting in his fidelity—qui de Anglia ad Dominicam urbem Hierusalem peregrinatus, tam arduam vitam exercuit, ut ei credere nullus fidelis dubitaverit.

the date of his arrival in England nor that of his death, but Bale says he flourished in 1066.*

Folchard, like most of the literary men patronised or encouraged by Edward the Confessor, was eminent chiefly as a writer of Saints' Lives. At the request of Aldred archbishop of York, he composed and dedicated to that primate, while a monk at Canterbury, the Life and Miracles of John of Beverley; this work is preserved in one of the Cottonian Manuscripts (Faustina B. IV). The other lives attributed to him are those of St. Bertin, bishop Oswald, St. Adulf, and St. Botulf. As a writer, there is little in Folchard's style to distinguish him from the common writers of his age. The following extract from the life of John of Beverley will serve as a specimen, and may be compared with our extracts from the Anglo-Saxon native Latin writers of the same century.

Exiens ergo inde, fraterna commonitus caritate, rudibus adhuc Anglorum populis verbum Dei cœpit euangelizare. Divina autem affatim præditus largitione, facundus rhetor erat in verborum digna effusione: præbebat etiam sancta vita competentem favorem assidua prædicatione, cum a semita auditæ institutionis nusquam diverteret exhibitum exemplum in se conversationis. Comitabatur præterea virtus Dei virtutem verbi sui, et sanabantur per eum quique infirmi, ut et in hoc fideli servo suo promissio firmaretur Christi. Signa, inquit, quæ ego facio et vos facietis, et majora horum facietis. Tanta autem ditatus gratia divinitatis, acceptum talentum Domini sui vario multiplicat fœnore, ut in gaudium Domini sui læta intraret vocatione. Litterarum enim affluenti imbutus copia, in docendis discipulis suis solerti instabat vigilantia; inter quos Bedam, qui inter doctores ecclesiæ clarus habetur, caro affectu pro capacitatis suæ vigore amplectabatur, quem secutus industrius tirunculus, a tanto pædagogo affluenter imbutus, et in exponendis euangeliis et in historicis rebus digerendis magnus enituit; et descriptis

* The life of John of Beverley, dedicated to Aldred, must have been written immediately after the conquest. The life of St. Bertin is dedicated to Bovo, who was abbot of St. Bertin from 1043 to 1065; it was probably written soon after 1050, the year of the translation of St. Bertin's relics. The chief authority for the account of Folchard is Ordericus Vitalis. For a more detailed account of the writings attributed to him, see the Hist. Lit. de France, viii. 133.

temporum et compoti rationibus subtilissimis, inditam Britannicæ gentis hebitudinem purgavit, scriptorumque suorum dignitatem Romanæ Sedis acquisita auctoritate nobilitavit; quodque his majus est, servata innocentia vitæ, Deo fideliter studuit fine-tenus placere: ut cum sancto sanctus esset, et cum electo magistro suo sanctissimo Joanne in electione discipulatus Christi permaneret. Succedente etiam tempore, quem a primis sacrorum graduum ordinibus Deo mancipaverat, sacerdotii dignitate hunc Bedam, cum aliis quibusdam suæ institutionis viris, dignos Deo adjutores promovit; ut tanto tenacius Christo viti suæ adhærerent, quanto strictius complexi palmites ejus essent.

Editions of Folchard.

Acta Sanctorum Mensis Maii, tomus ii. Fol. Antv. 1680. pp. 168—173. The Life and Miracles of John of Beverley.

Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, Sæculum iii., pars i. Fol. Paris, 1672. pp. 108—126. The Life and Miracles of St. Bertin.—pp. 434, 435. An abridged copy of the Life of John of Beverley.

HEREMAN.

Among the most eminent of the foreign ecclesiastics brought into England by King Edward the Confessor, was his chaplain or "priest," Hereman, by birth a Fleming. In 1045 the king gave him the bishopric of Wilton.* Hereman, dissatisfied with the revenues of his diocese, petitioned the king to add to them those of the abbey of Malmsbury (then vacant by the death of its abbot), and to allow him to remove his see thither, representing that he as a foreigner had no family estates in England, to enable him to support his dignity, as was the case with most of the native prelates. The king immediately granted his request: but the monks of Malmsbury were opposed to this arrangement, and hastened to lay their complaints before Earl Godwin, the professed enemy of the foreigners, by whose influence the king was per-

* Saxon Chron. sub. an.

suaded to retract his promise. Hereman, unable to support the disappointment and mortification of his defeat, resigned the bishopric of Wilton, and returned to France, where shortly afterwards he changed the secular habit for that of a monk in the abbey of St. Bertin. When he had remained there about three years, he received intelligence of the death of Alfwold, bishop of Sherborne; and, as that bishopric had been formerly promised to him by queen Edith, he returned to England, and succeeded in his object the more easily, as his old enemy earl Godwin was dead, and his son Harold was inclined to join in all measures which pleased the king.*

In 1049, the year after he obtained the bishopric of Sherborne, Hereman was chosen to accompany Aldred archbishop of York to Rome "on the king's errand." † He was present at the council called in that year by pope Leo IX., and on that occasion he delivered a discourse on the flourishing condition of the English church. He was one of the prelates allowed to retain their bishoprics after the Norman conquest, and by the direction of William he moved his see from Sherborne to Salisbury. He died at an advanced age, soon after he had laid the foundations of the cathedral of this city. ‡ The Saxon Chronicle places his death on the 20th of February, 1077.§

The old bibliographers attribute to this Hereman the history of the Miracles of St. Edmund, contained in the fine volume in the Cottonian Library, Tiberius B. II. which has every appearance of a manuscript of the eleventh

* W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 249. Roger de Hoveden, Annal. p. 464.

† On þæs cinges ærende. Saxon Chron.

‡ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 250.

§ Perhaps this means what was in later times expressed by 10 Feb. 1077-8, as some authorities place his death in 1078. Roger de Hoveden says he died in 1076.

century. Unfortunately, the opening lines in which the author's name was to be mentioned, were left blank for the illuminator, and have never been filled up. A note at the foot of the page, in a hand probably of the fifteenth century, states that this book was the work of Hermannus the archdeacon, and that it was written about the year 1070, in the time of Baldwin, abbot of St. Edmund's.* This could not be bishop Hereman. It appears that some other writers quote the book as the work of Hermannus, archdeacon under Arfast, bishop of Thetford.†

GISO.

Giso was a native of the town of St. Trudo, in the district then called Hasbania, in Lorraine, and is said to have been one of the chaplains or priests of the household of Edward the Confessor. In 1060, he was chosen by that monarch to succeed Duducus (a native of Saxony) in the bishopric of Wells; in the year following, he accompanied Aldred bishop of York and Walter bishop of Hereford to Rome, on a mission from the king, and he was honourably received by pope Nicholas. On his appointment to the bishopric of Wells, Giso found that that see had been robbed of many of its possessions and treasures by the rapacity of Earl Harold and others; and his influence with the king was insufficient to obtain their restoration, although he secured for it several royal benefactions. The bishop was preparing to pronounce against

* Incipiunt miracula scripta ab Hermanno archidiacono tempore Baldewini abbatis circa annum Christi 1070. MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. II. fol. 19, r°.

† See Tanner, in *Hermannus Sarisburiensis*.

Harold the excommunication of the church, when the death of the Confessor unexpectedly placed him upon the throne. Harold immediately took Giso into favour, and promised not only to restore all that he had taken from the church, but to add other gifts. This restoration was not made till after the Norman Conquest. Among other works, Giso built for the canons whom he had established in his church a cloister, refectory, and dormitory. After having held the bishopric of Wells twenty-eight years, he died in 1086, and was buried in his own church.*

We are informed by William of Malmsbury that Giso was a man of some learning; † but his literary reputation has only been rescued from oblivion by the researches of Mr. Hunter, who brought to light and published the early sketch of the history of the bishopric of the province of Somerset, in which is preserved the brief account of Giso written by himself. It appears that this fragment was introductory to a larger work by bishop Giso on the possessions of his church, and perhaps on the affairs of his diocese.‡ If this were all that he wrote, it must be confesed that Giso belonged to a very humble class of authors.

* The foregoing account is taken chiefly from Giso's autobiographical sketch inserted in the Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis, (published in "Ecclesiastical Documents, . . . now first published by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A." London, 1840, printed by the Camden Society), compared with W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif p. 271, and Roger de Hoveden, p. 445.

† Qui esset non usquequaque contemnendæ scientiæ. W. Malmsb. ib.

‡ Hujus rei prælibationem ideo præmisi, ut, cum in sequentibus de istis et omnibus quæ ad episcopalem pertinent dignitatem terris confuse tractavero, &c. Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 20.

GOTSELIN.

Gotselin was a Frenchman, a monk of the monastery of St. Bertin, and was brought to England by Hereman, in 1058.* William of Malmsbury describes him as a man of great learning and skill in chanting; and tells us that he visited many of the monasteries and episcopal sees in this island, collecting the materials for the numerous lives of English saints which he composed. Soon after 1082, he appears to have been resident at Ely, where he wrote the life of St. Etheldreda.† Between 1087 and 1091, he was at Ramsey, where he composed at the desire of one of his patrons, the abbot of that place (Herbert de Lozinga, afterwards bishop of Norwich), the life of St. Ivo, abridged, as it appears, from the previous work of abbot Andrew (or Withman).‡ In 1098, he wrote his account of the translation of St. Augustine and his companions, which had taken place seven years before, and he tells us that in that year he was a monk of Canterbury.§ It is probable that this was his last work, and that he died soon afterwards. The obituary of Canterbury, quoted by Wharton, says only that he died on the fifteenth day of May. Among his patrons were Lanfranc and Anselm: he dedicates his account of the Translation

* Wil. Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. p. 130. We give the name as spelt in the earliest MS. of his works: it is introduced in the third line of the distich quoted in the text, as though it should be *Gocelinus* or *Goselinus:* but the old metrical writers allow themselves some licence with proper names.

† Tempore Symeonis abbatis intererat inter monachos quidam Gocelinus nomine, disertissimus, undique per Angliam vitas, miracula, et gesta sanctorum sanctarumque in historia in prosis dictando mutavit. Hic scripsit prosam S. Etheldredæ, cujus initium est, Christo regi sit Gloria. Register of Ely, quoted in Tanner. Simeon was abbot of Ely from 1082 to 1094.

‡ Introd. ad Vit. Ivonis, ap. Act. 58, Junii, tom. ii. p. 288.

§ See Præf. ad Hist. de Vit. S. Augustini.

of St. Augustine to the latter prelate, in the following inharmonious lines:—

Dux Anselme, patrum pater, et vigor ecclesiarum,
Quem celebrat titulis Romanus et Anglicus orbis,
Ne spernas imi pronum munus Gotselini.

Gotselin's principal work was a series of lives and miracles of Saints more especially connected with Canterbury, which, in a nearly contemporary manuscript (MS. Cotton. Vespasian, B. xx), consists of the following tracts: Historia Minor de Vita S. Augustini Cantuar. Archiepiscopi; Historia Minor de Miraculis S. Augustini; Historia Major de Vita S. Augustini; Historia Major de Miraculis S. Augustini; Sermo in Festivitate S. Augustini; Libri duo ad Anselmum de Translatione S. Augustini; Vita S. Letardi; Vita S. Mildredæ; Translatio S. Mildredæ et Institutio Monasterii ejusdem; Vitæ SS. Laurentii, Melliti, Justi, Honorii, Deusdedit, et Theodori, arch. Cant.; Vita Adriani abbatis S. Augustini; Historia de Translatione ejusdem; Libellus contra inanes S. Mildredæ usurpatores. The latter was written to prove that the body of St. Mildreda was in the monastery of St. Augustine, and not in the church of St. Gregory in that city. In a manuscript in the Harleian library of nearly equal antiquity (No. 105), we have the same series of lives, to which is given the general title of Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libri viii. Those which relate to St. Augustine and his companions are also found in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Among the other lives which have been attributed to him are those of Swithun, Grimbald (begining with the words, *Urbs Marinorum quondam ampla)*, Erkenwald (perhaps the one in MS. Cotton. Claudius, A. v), Ivo, Eadgitha, Milburga, Witheburga, Sexburga, Wulfhilda, Werburga, and Ermenhilda. The seven last are chiefly known by

extracts in Leland's Collectanea. Tanner attributes to Gotselin the list of Saints buried in England, which is printed in Leland's Collectanea, and in Hickes's Dissertatio Epistolaris. An old writer mentions the collection of lives of Saints as given in the Cottonian MS. under the title of the 'Chronicle' of Gotselin.*

We find little original matter of any importance in Gotselin's Biographies. They consist chiefly of inflated versions of the simpler style of the older writers; on which account Fabricius compares him to the Greek hagiographer Simeon Metaphrastes. In the lives of Augustine and his companions and followers he has added little to the accounts given by Bede. His collections of miracles of these saints are more valuable, because they contain some curious illustrations of contemporary history. The following panegyric of Britain, extracted from the larger life of St. Augustine, will serve as a specimen of his style: it may be compared with the similar description given by Bede at the commencement of his Ecclesiastical History.

Sed qua laude attollam hunc Agustiniensem mundum? Quidam terrenus terrenis est paradisus; quidquid opum ubivis habetur, aut hic nascitur, aut confluis undique nationibus circumfuso amphitrite invehitur. Credas maximum orbem divitias suas ac delicias, quæ particulatim in suis partibus prærogat, hic pariter aut invenisse aut thesaurisasse. Regnum est imperiale, Romanis Cæsaribus Augustaliter regnatum, qui se tam hic quam Romæ gloriabantur rerum habere solium. Tellus copiosa omnium sationum et plantationum fecunda, ubertim procreans non solum patriæ assueta, sed adeo Græciæ vel remotioris horum plantaria. Patet amplissime uberrimis agris, vernantibus pratis, diffusis campis, pinguibus pascuis, gregibus lactifluis, equis et armentis bellicis. Irrigant crebrescentes fontium scaturigines, rivuli salientes, flumina insignia et famosa; lacus et stagna piscibus et avibus ac navali commeatu assidua, urbibus et populis accommoda, frondent luci et nemora: campestria et montana glande et fructibus silvestribus plena, diversis venatibus opulenta. Sunt et silvæ castaneæ divitum epulis acceptæ: vinetis quoque non solum Gallicis et Italicis, sed etiam

* Chron. W. Thorn, ap. Decem Scriptores, col. 1783. For a more detailed account of Gotselin's writings, see the Hist. Lit. de France, viii. 662.

Albanis, Argolicis, et Puniceis arvis respondebit uberrimis. Sunt hic fontes salinarum, sunt et fontes calidi, calidique fluvii balneis calidis exstructi. Quid dicam maris divitias, quæ non solum navalibus mercibus, verum etiam innumeris piscium generibus hoc regnum et replent et decorant? Inter quæ diversa ac magna natilia capiuntur passim, delphini et vituli marini, atque insuper montuosæ balenæ. Rubent conchilia super Indicas ac Sydonias tincturas; et decorem suum dum alia omnia vetustate mutant aut minuunt, hæc tenacius illustrant, nec sole nec imbre violant. Inest conchis ornamentorum pretium, unionum scilicet gemmantes orbiculi, candore splendidi, et margaritarum multicolora decora. Rubent aliæ, aliæ virent, hæ purpureo, hæ hyacintino, hæ prasino colore vestiuntur: sed major harum candicat multitudo. His aurificum ingenia inter præclaros lapides aurea Eclesiæ adornant monilia. Ipsos etiam æquat aut superat aurea Anglicarum virginum textura, quæ Regia et Pontificalia insignia intincto murice, coccoque bis tincto flammantia splendidis unionibus et margaritis cum præcellentibus gemmis prætexto auro instellant, et pretiosa stemmata artificii mixtura amplius irradiant. Uniones tantum Hesperia Britannia et Eoa India sororisant. Hæc etiam gagatem prodige gignet lapidem, eo pretiosiorem quo aliis sæclis rariorem; hic est gemmea ingredine fulgidus. Invenitur quoque purpureus, cereus, albidus, viridis. Ardet igni admotus ubi confricatus incaluit; levem materiam attrahit ut adamas ferrum; ubi intenditur, serpentes fugantur. Venis nihilominus metallorum æris, ferri, plumbi, stagni, argenti, et auri divites massæ eviscerantur. Mirere et rupes et scopulos aerios, templaque passim et mœnia de saxosis montibus operosa et quodam nativo marmore decorata.

Editions of Gotselin.

Lanfranci Opera. ed. Dacherii. fol. Paris, 1648. Appendix, pp. 57—67. The Historia Minor de Vita S. Augustini, edited imperfectly and as an anonymous work.

Acta Sanctorum, &c. Februarius, tomus i. fol. Antverpiæ, 1658, pp. 386—390. Vita S. Wereburgæ Virginis, auctore Goscelino monacho. Printed from a MS. in the Library of William Camden.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum I. fol. Paris, 1688, pp. 499—534. Gotselini Liber Major de Vita S. Augustini. Pp. 535—559. Libellus de Miraculis S. Augustini.

Henry Wharton, Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. fol. Lond. 1691, pp. 55—71. Goscelini Historia Minor de Vita S. Augustini Archiepiscopi Cant.

Acta Sanctorum Junii, tomus ii. fol. Antverpiæ, 1698, pp. 288—291. Vita S. Yvonis, auctore Goscelino monacho. From a MS. in England.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti. Sæculum VI. pars secunda, fol. Paris, 1701, pp. 743—765. Historia Translationis S. Augustini Episcopi, Anglorum Apostoli, auctore Gocelino ejusdem loci [Cantuar.] monacho æquali.

Acta Sanctorum Julii, tomus i. fol. Antverpiæ, 1719, pp. 327, 328. Vita S. Swithuni, auctore Gotzelino. It had previously been printed in Surius.

ETHELWARD.

Ethelward (or Elward, as he is called by William of Malmsbury,) is known only by a history of the Anglo-Saxons, in four books, ending with the reign of King Edgar. He calls himself Ethelwerdus Patricius,* and says that he was descended from Ethelred the brother of king Alfred. We are not informed when his book was written, but we know that he was still alive in 1090.† The old bibliographers, with their usual inaccuracy, make two Ethelwards, one the son, the other the grandson, of king Alfred, and attribute to the one and to the other histories of their native country.

Ethelward's work is of very little value—it is nothing more than an abridged and imperfect translation of a bad copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, into very inflated and sometimes almost unintelligible Latin. Bishop Nicholson terms his style "boisterous."‡ The following passage, relating to the year 885, compared with the corresponding entry of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, will be the best proof of the truth of this observation:

Ergo post annum partiuntur in sortem sibi arva telluris ipsius in duas partes, unam ad Lofenum, alteram ad Hrofecestre, partem videlicet pertinentem, obsederuntque oppida prædicta, nec non alia sibi struunt vilia castra. Etiam defectus dominatur accolis priscis usque dum advenisset rex Ælfred occidentali cum manu. Superata tandem lues immunda, auxilia quærunt, rex jussit Saravara duci equis non exiguis littora, petunt proprias

* In the title he is called still more ostentatiously "Patricius Consul Fabius Quæstor Ethelwerdus."

† This is stated by bishop Nicolson. English Historical Library, p. 40.

‡ Nicolson, ib. Even William of Malmsbury speaks contemptuously of Ethelward's book. Nam de Edwardo . . . præstat silere . . . Et me (divinus favor) præter scopulos confragosi sermonis evexerit, ad quos Elwardus dum tinnula et emendicata verba venatur, miserabiliter impegit. Prolog. in lib. pr. de Gest. Reg. Angl.

sedes. Quidam eorum ultra petunt marinas partes . . . . Itaque classem mittit in eodem anno in Orientales partes Anglorum rex præfatus etiam Ælfred, statimque advectu in eorum occursim fuere in loco Stufemuthan sexdecim scilicet numero carinæ vastantur quidem armis, ferro truncantur magistri, cætera classis piratica cursu obvia vehitur illis. Insistunt remis, deponunt scarmos, unda coacta rutilant arma, post gradum Barbari victoriæ scandunt. In eodem anno magnificus obiit Karolus rex Francorum extinctus nece ante unius circulum anni, quem post sequitur equidem uterinus frater qui tum præfuerat Gallias fines super Occidentales.

The passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is,—

An. DCCCLXXXV. Her to-dælde se fore-sprecena here on twa, oþer dæl east, oðer dæl to Hrofesceastre, and ymbsæton þa ceastre, ⁊ worhton oðer fæsten ymbe hie selfe. ⁊ hy þeah ða ceaster aweredon, oð ꝥ Ælfred cyng com utan mid fyrde. Ða eode se here to hiora scipum, ⁊ forlet ꝥ ge-weorc; ⁊ hy wurdon þær behorsude. ⁊ sona þy ylcan sumera eft ofer sæ ge-witon. And þy ylcan geare sende Ælfred cyning scip-here of Cænt on East Engle. Sona swa hie coman on Sture-muðan, ða metton hie xvi. scipu wicinga, ⁊ hie wið þa ge-fuhton, ⁊ þa scipo eall ge-ræhton, ⁊ þa men ofslogon. Ða hy þa hamweard wendon mið þære herehyðe, þa metton hie micelne sciphere wicinga, ⁊ þa wið þa ge-fuhton þy ylcan dæge, ⁊ þa Deniscan ahton sige. And þy ylcan geare ær miððum wintra forð-ferde Carl Francana cyning, ⁊ hine ofslog an eofor. And ane geare ær his broður forðferde, se hæfde eac ꝥ West-rice.

A.D. 885. This year separated the before-mentioned army in two, one part east, the other part to Rochester, and besieged the city, and made another fortress around themselves. But the people defended the city, until king Alfred came out with an army. Then the army went to their ships, and forsook their work; and they were there provided with horses. And soon after in the same summer they went over sea again. The same year king Alfred sent a fleet from Kent into East Anglia. As soon as they came to Stourmouth, there met them sixteen ships of the pirates, and they fought with them, took all the ships, and slew the men. As they returned homeward with their booty, they met a large fleet of the pirates, and fought with them the same day; but the Danes had the victory. The same year, before mid-winter, died Charles king of the Franks, and a boar slew him. And one year before, his brother died, who had also the western kingdom.

Edition.

Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui (edited by Saville). Fol. Francof. 1601. pp. 831—850. Chronicorum Ethelwerdi Libri Quatuor.

WULSTAN.*

The life of the last of the Anglo-Saxon prelates forms an appropriate conclusion to the first period of our Literary History. Wulstan was born in the earlier years of the eleventh century (1007 or 1008), of a respectable family at 'Icentun' in Warwickshire. The names of his father and mother were Ethelstan and Wulfgiva. Wulstan was entrusted while a child to the care of the monks of Evesham, from whence he was soon removed to Peterborough, as a better school. One of his teachers, Ervenius, is mentioned as a skilful scribe and illuminator.† At Peterborough, Wulstan went through the ordinary course of studies, and obtained as much learning as was then commonly to be met with in England.‡ As soon as he had reached the proper age, he was ordained a presbyter, and afterwards becoming a monk at Worcester, he passed successively through the different offices in his monastery until he was elected to that of prior. As prior of Worcester he was distinguished by holiness of life and simplicity of manners.

In 1060, Aldred bishop of Worcester was chosen to succeed archbishop Kynsine in the see of York. Two successors of Oswald had been allowed to follow the precedent established by that primate of holding the bishopric of Worcester with the archiepiscopal see, and Aldred was

* The chief authority for the life of Wulstan is William of Malmsbury, who has inserted a long account of him, in his work De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, besides writing a separate life in three books, printed in the second volume of Wharton's Anglia Sacra. Another life, by a monk of Worcester named Hemming, is printed by Wharton in Angl. Sac. vol. I.

† W. Malmsb. Vit. Wulstani, ap. Wharton, pp. 244.

‡ W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 279.

desirous of doing the same; but after an obstinate contention with the pope he was obliged to relinquish the former, although he was permitted to name his successor. Aldred had alienated some of the property of his bishopric, and he is said to have chosen Wulstan as a weak and simple man, under whom he expected to enjoy the fruits of his depredations, and pursue his further designs with impunity.* Wulstan was elected bishop of Worcester on the 29th of August, 1062, a little more than four years before the Norman Conquest.

Wulstan, as bishop of Worcester, soon showed, by his resolution to defend the rights of his bishopric, that Aldred had mistaken his character. Under the Confessor his efforts were of little effect; but under William, who took Wulstan into his favour, he obtained the restitution of many of the estates alienated from his see. However, an Anglo-Saxon prelate could not fail to be an object of jealousy among the Norman ecclesiastics; and early in this reign we find that Lanfranc accused Wulstan before the king of being too illiterate for his station. At the same time he was involved in a still more serious dispute. Archbishop Thomas of York resisted his claims of restitution with more effect than the Saxon Aldred; and in return he claimed jurisdiction over the diocese of Worcester as belonging to the province of York. The archbishop carried his claims before the pope, but being opposed by Lanfranc, they were referred back to be judged by an English council, and, after hearing the parties, the king decided that the diocese of Worcester was in the province of Canterbury.†

After this period Wulstan appears to have experienced

* Ille consilio deducto in medium cavensque rebus suis in posterum Wulstanum elegit, inefficacem scilicet ratus, cujus simplicitate et sanctimonia rapinas umbraret suas. W. Malmsb. De Gest. Pontif. ib.

† W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 281.

no further molestation. He continued to enjoy the favour of the Conqueror, and that of his son, to the end of his life. At the beginning of the reign of the latter monarch, Wulstan's energetic defence, although he was then eighty years of age, saved the city of Worcester from the army of Roger de Montgomery, who had taken up arms in favour of Robert Duke of Normandy, and contributed mainly to the final suppression of the rebellion. Wulstan died Jan. 19, 1095, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years, and was buried in the cathedral which he had enlarged and almost rebuilt.*

We have stated that Lanfranc accused Wulstan of being an illiterate man.† It is probable that in this complaint there was less of justice, than of the contempt of the Norman scholars for the general ignorance of the learned languages which they found among the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics, who were more accustomed to write in their native tongue than in Latin. William of Malmsbury says that he was not so unlearned as they supposed, but that he despised the learning which consisted in the study of "the fables of the poets" as well as the crooked syllogisms of the schools; and he represents him as an elegant and efficient extempore preacher.‡ Wulstan's claim to a place among the English writers is, however, very doubtful, and rests chiefly on the supposition, which has been hazarded, that he was the author of

* W. Malmsb. de Vit. Wulstani, p. 267, and Wharton's note.

† Sub seniore Willielmo inclamatum est in Wulstanum a Lanfranco de literarum inscitia. W. Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. p. 281.

‡ Quanquam non ita hebes in literis (ut putabatur) fuerit, qui cætera negotia sciret, præter fabulas poetarum et tortiles syllogismos dialecticorum, quæ nec nosset, nec nosse dignaretur. Cæterum probe doctus posse sermonem quamlibet elegantem extemporaliter facere, auditorum lachrymas, gaudia cœli et pœnas inferni proponendo, artifex, movere, persuadere dictionem quam vellet, dum quadraret vita doctrinæ, nec aliter viveret, quam vivendum doceret. W. Malmsb. ib.

a very important part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The writer of the "Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle" conjectures that the entries in this Chronicle from 1034 to 1079, in MS. Cotton. Tiberius B. IV, were written by Wulstan; but the only ground for such a supposition seems to be that he believes the manuscript to have been executed at Worcester, and to contain passages in which he thinks he can trace Wulstan's sentiments. All the attempts yet made to identify the writers of this important historical document appear to be in the highest degree unsatisfactory.

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in it in his youth; and the work of Boethius had to undergo a singular process before the royal translator commenced his operations. Bishop Asser, one of Alfred's chosen friends, was employed to turn the original text of Boethius "into plainer words,"—"a necessary labour in those days," says William of Malmsbury, "although at present (in the 12th century) it seems somewhat ridiculous."* And in a similar manner, before he undertook the translation of the Pastorale, he had it explained to him—the task was perhaps executed sometimes by one, sometimes by another—by Archbishop Plegmund, by Bishop Asser, and by his "mass-priests" Grimbald and John.† But Alfred's mind was great and comprehensive; and we need not examine his scholarship in detail in order to justify or to enhance his reputation. His translations are well written; and whatever may have been the extent of his knowledge of the Latin language, they exhibit a general acquaintance with the subject superior to that of the age in which he lived. Whenever their author added to his original, in order to explain allusions which he thought would not be understood, he exhibits a just idea of ancient history and fable, differing widely from the distorted popular notions which were prevalent then and at a subsequent period in the vernacular literature.‡ There is one apparent exception to this observation. In trans-

* Libros Boethii . . . . planioribus verbis elucidavit . . . . . . illis diebus labore necessario, nostris ridiculo. Sed enim jussu regis factum est, ut levius ab eodem in Anglicum transferretur sermonem.—*W. Malms.* p. 248.

† Swa swa ic hi ge-leornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscope, and æt Assere minum biscope, and æt Grimbolde minum mæsse-preoste, and æt Johanne minum mæsse-preoste.—*Preface to the Pastorale.*

‡ It is observable throughout the middle ages, that what is stated correctly and judiciously in the Latin writers appears most grossly incorrect and capriciously distorted whenever we meet with it in the vernacular

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lating the second metre of the fifth book of Boethius, beginning—

> Puro clarum lumine Phœbum
> Melliflui canit oris Homerus,—

Alfred has added an explanation which shows that Virgil was then much better known than Homer. "Homer," says he, "the good poet, who was best among the Greeks: he was Virgil's teacher: this Virgil was best among the Latins."* Alfred probably means no more than that Virgil imitated Homer: but in the metrical version of the metres of Boethius, also *attributed* to Alfred, the matter is placed quite in another light, and Homer not only becomes Virgil's teacher, but his friend also.

Omerus wæs	Homer was
east mid Crecum	in the east among the Greeks
on þæm leod-scipe	in that nation
leoþa cræftgast,	the most skilful of poets,
Firgilies	Virgil's
freond and lareow,	friend and teacher,
þæm mæran sceope	to that great bard
magistra betst.	the best of masters.

(*Metres of Boeth. ed. Fox*, p. 137.)

We will, however, willingly relieve the Anglo-Saxon monarch from all responsibility for this error, which seems to have arisen from the misconstruction of Alfred's words by some other person who was the author of the prosaic

writings of the same period, a proof of the slow passage of knowledge from one class of society to another. In the metrical French romance of Troy (12th century) which is founded on the pseudo-Dares, we are told that Homer wrote mere fables which he knew were not true; and, accordingly, when he recited his work to his citizens, most of them set their faces against it, and there arose two factions at Athens: but in the end the poet had most influence, and succeeding in obtaining the general sanction of his version of the story, to the disadvantage of that of Dares.

* Ðeah Omerus se goda sceop, þe mid Crecum selest wæs; se wæs Firgilies lareow, se Firgilius wæs mid Lædenwarum selest.—*Alfred's Boethius, ed. Cardale*, p. 327.

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his scholar had fled, and pursued him closely; but the latter baffled his researches by suspending himself under the arch of a bridge in such a manner as neither to be on the earth nor in the water, and while the Saracen returned home disappointed, he pursued his way till he came to the sea shore. Here he opened his book, and summoned the evil one, by whose agency he was conveyed safely over the water, but, according to a report which was current among his contemporaries, they first made an agreement by which, although the philosopher seemed to be a gainer for the time, yet in the end the advantage was to remain with the tempter. Gerbert afterwards taught publicly in the schools in France, and his lectures were so well frequented, and his fame for learning so great, that he was made archbishop first of Rheims and next of Ravenna, and finally was elected to the papal chair. His enemies failed not to represent this constant run of prosperity as the result of his compact with the devil: at Rome, as was reported, he occupied his time in seeking, by means of the "art magicall," the treasures which had been concealed by the pagans in ancient times—perhaps he was an antiquary, and collected Roman monuments; and in after ages a note appeared in some lists of popes setting forth that pope Sylvester died a bad death, though in what manner is not quite clear.

3. Among the many scholars who had profited by Gerbert's teaching, was, as it is said, Ethelwold of Winchester, the friend of Dunstan, and his supporter in his monastic reforms. Dunstan himself fell under the same imputation of dealing with unlawful sciences as Gerbert, which perhaps arose as much from the jealousy of his enemies, as from his extraordinary studies.* Among various other reports,

* Some of Dunstan's enemies accused him before the king,—dicentes eum ex libris salutaribus et jurisperitis non saluti animæ profutura, sed avitæ

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there went abroad a story about an inchanted harp that he had made, which performed tunes without the agency of man, whilst it hung against the wall;—a thing by no means impossible. The prejudices against Dunstan at length rose so high, that some of his neighbours, seizing upon him one day by surprise, threw him into a pond; probably for the purpose of trying whether he were a wizard or not, according to a receipt in such cases which is hardly yet eradicated from the minds of the peasantry. What was in part the nature of Dunstan's studies while at Glastonbury we may surmise from the story of a learned and ingenious monk of Malmsbury, named Ailmer, who not many years afterwards made wings to fly, an extraordinary advance in the march of mechanical invention, if we reflect that little more than a century before Asser the historian thought the invention of *lanterns* a thing sufficiently wonderful to confer an honour upon his patron King Alfred. But Ailmer, in the present instance, allowed his zeal to get the better of his judgment. Instead of cautiously making his first experiment from a low wall, he took flight from the top of the church-steeple, and, after fluttering for a short time helplessly in the air, he fell to the ground and broke his legs. Undismayed by this accident, the crippled monk found comfort and encouragement in the reflection, that his invention would certainly have succeeded, had he not forgotten to put a tail behind.*

gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina et histriarum colere incantationes. Vita S. Dunstani, in MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. XIII. fol. 63, v°. This is the life written by Bridferth of Ramsey, the commentator on Bede, and was printed from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Vedasti at Arras, by the Bollandists, in the Act. Sanctor. Maii, iv. 346.

* Nam pennas manibus et pedibus haud scio qua innexuerat arte, ut Dædali more volaret, fabulam pro vero amplexus; collectaque e summo turris aura spacio stadii et plus volavit, sed venti et turbinis violentia simul, et temerarii facti conscientia, tremulus cecidit, perpetuo post hæc debilis, et crura effractus. Ipse ferebat causam ruinæ, quod caudam in posteriori parte oblitus fuerit. W. Malms. (in the Scriptores post Bedam), p. 92.

verses that have hitherto gone under his name. Several reasons combine in making us believe that these were not written by Alfred: they are little more than a transposition of the words of his own prose, with here and there a few additions and alterations in order to make alliteration: the compiler has shown his want of skill on many occasions; he has, on the one hand, turned into metre both Alfred's preface (or at least imitated it), and his introductory chapter, which certainly had no claim to that honour; whilst, on the other hand, he has overlooked entirely three of the metres, which appear to have escaped his eye as they lay buried among King Alfred's prose.* The only manuscript containing this metrical version which has yet been met with, appears, from the fragments of it preserved from the fire which endangered the whole Cottonian Library, to have been written in the tenth century.

5. The policy of Alfred in calling into England foreign scholars, was pursued, if not successively, at least from time to time, during the whole of the century which followed, and even till the time of the Norman conquest. Athelstan, in the early part of the tenth century, was a patron of learning as well as a great king, and not unworthy to sit on Alfred's throne. In return, his fame was spread abroad, and handed down to his posterity by the scholars whom he had encouraged; and we learn from William of Malmsbury and others, that his actions were the subject of more than one Latin poem. Of Dunstan, it has been said that he was second only to Alfred himself in his endeavours to raise learning and science in England.† Oswald, made Archbishop of York in 971, who

* The full discussion of this question is reserved for another occasion.

† Ipse artium liberalium in tota insula post regem Alfredum excitator mirificus.—*W. Malms.* p. 56.

had himself been educated at Fleury in France, followed closely in the steps of Dunstan, and it is noted of him in the old chronicles "that he invited over into this country literary men."* Among others, he brought Abbo of Fleury, who introduced into England "much fruit of science," and whose efforts were more particularly directed to the regeneration of the schools; for at that time (the latter part of the tenth century) we are told that learning (*i. e.* the study of Latin literature) had again fallen into universal decay.† In the eleventh century, under Edward the Confessor, when Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, founded a school at Waltham, we find him also seeking a foreign scholar to direct it.‡ But the frequent mention in the early historians of such incidents, is a proof that not even the power and wisdom of Alfred could restore a state of things which had, in the natural order of events, passed away, and which had been founded on feelings that no longer existed. Foreign learning was now no novelty to the Anglo-Saxons, and the excitement which alone had pushed into being the profound scholars of the age of Bede and Alcuin, ran in other channels. Alfred's own example aided in spreading the already prevalent taste for Anglo-Saxon writings, which must also have been increased by the tendency of his schools in which the English language and the national poetry are said to have held an equal place with the study of the learned languages.

6. From the numerous manuscripts which still remain,

* Advocavit in patriam literatos homines.—*Polychron.* p. 267.

† Ad scholas regendas . . . . quoniam omnis fere literaturæ studium et scholarum usus per Angliam in dessuetudinem venerat et soporem.—*Historia Ramesiensis, in Gale*, p. 400. Unus fuit Abbo Floriacensis monachus, qui *multam scientiæ frugem* Angliæ invexit.—*Malms. de Pontif.* p. 270.

‡ *Vita Haroldi*, in the Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, p. 161. See the same work, p. 157.

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FINIS.

London: J. B. Nichols and Son, Printers, 25, Parliament-street.